

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Nat'l antiwar convention calls Nov. 6 actions



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COVER PHOTOS of NPAC convention by Ed Weaver (top) and Brian Shannon.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 35/NUMBER 27
JULY 16, 1971
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 7, 1971

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Phone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: domestic, \$6 a year; foreign, \$7.50. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$22; all other countries, \$24. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$26; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, Asia (including U.S.S.R.), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

NEWTON TRIAL: California has brought Black Panther leader Huey Newton to trial for a second time in connection with the shooting for which he was convicted of manslaughter two years ago. That conviction was overturned last fall. Newton was found guilty of manslaughter in the previous trial, but had been charged with first-degree murder. This time the charge is manslaughter.

ACLU DEFENDS ANTIWAR AIR FORCE CAPTAIN: A June 30 news release from the American Civil Liberties Union announced that the organization will be defending Capt. Thomas S. Culver. Culver was a leader of the antiwar action at the U.S. Embassy in London on May 31, where 200 U.S. armed forces personnel presented antiwar petitions signed by 1,000 GIs stationed in England. The presentation was the largest antiwar action by U.S. soldiers overseas that has yet taken place. His court-martial for allegedly violating an Air Force regulation prohibiting "demonstrations" is scheduled to begin July 8 at Lakenheath Air Force Base in England.

ARNOLD JOHNSON'S CASE SUSPENDED: The June 30 Daily World reported that the case of Arnold Johnson, a Communist Party leader active in the peace movement, has been suspended pending a Supreme Court decision in a separate wiretap case. Johnson is charged with contempt of Congress for refusing to testify before the witch-hunting House Internal Security Committee during hearings last spring that tried to smear the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

AGE OF MAJORITY LOWERED IN VERMONT: On July 3, Vermont became the first state to grant 18-year-olds all the rights of adults with the exception of being able to serve on juries. While the law grants persons 18 or older the right to vote, seek office, make contracts, purchase liquor and marry without consent, the state's attorney general is exploring ways to limit these rights for "non-resident" students attending Vermont schools. Similar efforts to combine the extension of democratic rights with the maintenance of restrictions on a large section of the student population have also occurred in Kentucky, which recently granted most legal rights to 18-year-olds.

TELEPHONE COMPANY LOSES COURT BATTLE OVER POOR SERVICE: Civil Court Judge Bentley Kasal ruled last month in favor of Robert Warren, who sued the New York Telephone Company for \$300 in working time lost because of poor telephone service. Charging the telephone company with "completely disregarding the welfare of the public," Kasal said in his decision that "the entire pattern of horrendous telephone service demands drastic action, which does not appear to have been taken in spite of the recent public relations program in the newspapers developed to demonstrate improvement in service."

LOUISIANA THREATENS WADING BIRDS: In an act of callous disregard for some of the most beautiful species of wildlife in the U.S., the Louisiana state legislature last year authorized the hunting of the white ibis, an elegant bird that closely resembles several species of egrets and herons. The law was passed at the urging of crayfish farmers who claim their profits suffer because the white ibis eats such large amounts of the crustacean—a popular food in southern Louisiana. No study was made to determine exactly what effect the white ibis has on the crayfish population, but the legislature acted on the ignorant urging of the money-hungry commercial raisers of crayfish. The state wildlife commission has stalled in opening a season on the birds, but pressure is increasing from the profit-grubbing destroyers of the environment. At the same time, the National Audubon Society is mounting a campaign to reverse the legislature's decision, pointing out that hunting will endanger not only the ibis, but all of the species that closely resemble it.

NEW GAY GROUPS FORMED IN D.C., BAY AREA: In the last couple of months, the Bay Area Gay Alliance was formed in San Francisco and the Washington Gay Activists Alliance in Washington, D.C. Both groups define themselves as homosexual civil rights organizations committed to direct action. One of Bay Gay's first actions was the June 22 Christopher Street Memorial Job Hunt in which a score of gays, dressed in working clothes with some carrying tools of their particular trade (carpenters, mechanics, etc.) picketed and presented demands at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, the Bank of America and the state civil service employment office—three establishments that discriminate against gays in their hiring practices.

SUPERSTITION AND ADOPTION: A man and woman in New Jersey who had been given custody of a 24-day-old girl in 1969 were threatened with having the child taken back when adoption officials found out the two were atheists. The state supreme court ruled July 1 that atheism could not be a reason for denying adoption rights because such a restriction contradicted the constitutional protections separating church and state and permitting freedom of religion.

MICRONESIAN INDEPENDENCE: In the face of obstinate U.S. refusal to grant even a degree of autonomy in internal self-government to the 100,000 people of its "Trust Territory" in the central Pacific, a movement for national independence is growing. The June 20 New York Times reported that an Independence Coalition had been formed that includes 11 members of the presently powerless Congress of Micronesia, and that students from Micronesia studying in Hawaii have formed a nationalist organization called the Micronesian Independence Advocates to agitate against continued U.S. domination of the islands.

MAYDAY TRIBE CONFERENCE: What was billed as an All West Coast Mayday Tribe conference met June 26-27 in Eugene, Ore., but the 130 persons who attended, including representatives of the Revolutionary Union, spent the entire time arguing over what should be discussed, rather than discussing anything.

JDL IN PARIS? After eight parked cars belonging to Soviet Trade Mission officials were vandalized in Paris June 30, notes signed by a "Jewish Defense Committee" were sent to newspapers claiming responsibility for the damage.

SOVIET "HIPPIES": The spreading popularity within the Soviet Union of rock music and of clothing and hair styles common among youth in other industrial countries evidently has the Kremlin bureaucrats worried. According to the June 30 New York Times, CPSU Politburo member Pyotr Y. Shelest denounced "hippies" at a meeting of the Ukrainian party central committee last month. Shelest said the "shameful phenomena" of these fashions cast dishonor on the youth themselves, "their comrades, parents and collectives in which they work and study." The Times account said Shelest called for a fight to restore "proper appearance," which it described as "for young Communist men . . . short haircuts, dark suits, and either white shirt and tie or a white turtleneck shirt." Approved attire for women consists of "a sober suit, or blouse and skirt, with the hem just above the knee."

QUARTER-MILLION WORTH OF WAMPUM RETURNED: New York returned five wampum belts valued at \$250,000 to the Onondaga Nation of the Iroquois Confederation this month. While the Indians were not allowed to put any conditions on the use of the belts by white people who stole them in 1898, the state gave them back on the condition that the Indians construct a museum at their own expense to house and display the wampum.

NUN JAILED UNDER IMMUNITY PROVISION: The insidious "immunity" provision of the 1970 Crime Control Act that provides for the jailing of grand jury witnesses who refuse to answer questions after being promised "immunity" from prosecution (on the charges under investigation, not on possible future charges related to their testimony) has been employed against a nun in Brooklyn. The purpose of the hearings at which Sister Carol Vericker refused to testify June 29 is shrouded in secrecy, although there is speculation that it relates to the case of the Harrisburg Eight. Other witnesses subpoenaed before the federal grand jury in Brooklyn have been officers of the Harrisburg Defense Committee. Sister Carol is appealing the ruling from federal district court ordering her to jail and remains free until the appeal is decided.

PLEA FOR DISMISSAL IN HARRISBURG: Defense attorneys for Philip Berrigan and the other seven persons accused in the frame-up conspiracy indictment for allegedly plotting to bomb capital buildings and kidnap Henry Kissinger filed a motion June 30 to dismiss charges on the grounds that Susan Palmer, one of the grand jurors who indicted the eight, was not qualified to serve on the jury. Palmer was not a registered voter in the district when she was selected to serve on the grand jury.

—LEE SMITH

National abortion conference at Columbia July 16-18

By DEBBY WOODROOFE

NEW YORK—Women all over the country are now making plans to attend the Women's National Abortion Conference July 16-18 at Columbia University in New York City. The conference has been called and endorsed by over 250 women and women's groups representing Black, Chicana, Latina and Asian-American women, women's liberation, gay liberation, class action suits against abortion laws, the abortion repeal movement, the welfare rights movement, the Angela Davis defense and political organizations.

This will be the first national gathering of such a wide range of women to plan a national campaign around one of the central issues women are fighting for: the right of women to control their own bodies, the right to legal abortion.

The three days of the conference are being organized to maximize the broadest possible discussion of this issue. Following registration Friday, July 16, the first session at 7:30 p.m. will discuss the basis of the abortion fight.

The program will feature a discussion of how the abortion laws developed in this country and when and how women began to fight back. Testimony will be heard from women who attempted to obtain abortions in the early 1960s and how the struggle against the archaic abortion laws has developed in the last two years.

Black women will discuss why oppressed women from Third World communities support the abortion repeal fight and why it should also be tied to a campaign against forced sterilizations.

Women from other countries, including Canada, will discuss how this is an international struggle.

Saturday and Sunday are being set aside entirely for workshops and assemblies to discuss and plan the national program to repeal the abortion laws, including a call for a nationwide demonstration in the fall.

Workshops will be held on: national program; constituencies, including Black, Chicana and Asian women, gay women, high school women, nurses, and doctors; projects, including class action suits, abortion counseling, legal fights through the legislatures and courts; and regional workshops. Rooms are also available for women to organize other workshops of their choice.

Indications from the Coalition headquarters are

that women are planning to attend the conference from just about every state. Buses are being organized by abortion coalitions in many cities, including Boston, Detroit, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Philadelphia and Cleveland.

Hundreds of new endorsements are coming into the office weekly. Some of the recent Black, Chicana and Asian-American endorsers are: Norma Andres, Asian Women and Wayne Women's Liberation; Elma Barrera, Houston Chicana Conference; Cynthia Carty, Phoenix House; Joyce Dalus, Black Women's Abortion Suit, Michigan; Aileen Hernandez, National president of NOW; Beulah Sanders, Welfare Rights Organization; Cynthia Davis, Black Sisters in Struggle, San Francisco; and Taxi Wada, Asian-Americans for Action.

Other new endorsers include: writer Betty Friedan; San Francisco Association to Repeal Abortion Laws; the New Democratic Coalition in New York; Barbette Blackington, director of the International Institute for Women's Studies in Washington, D.C.; Jane Benedict, Metropolitan Council on Housing; Roberta Benjamin, president of Eastern Massachusetts NOW; Mary Daly, Catholic theologian, Boston College; Gay Women of Female Liberation, Berkeley; Greater Philadelphia chapter of B'nai Brith; Tina Hobson, director of Federally Employed Women; Solvieg Stengla, Lehigh Valley Abortion Rights Association; U of California San Francisco Medical Center Women's Caucus; West Side Mothers in Detroit; and Florynce Kennedy, author of *Abortion Rap*.

National Organization for Women chapters from Greenwich, Conn., Michigan, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia have endorsed the conference, as well as women's liberation groups from Houston, Indianapolis, Troy, N.Y., San Francisco State College and George Washington U. Women's newspapers *Everywoman*, *KNOW*, and *Womenkind* have also endorsed the conference.

Registration will begin Friday at 5 p.m. and 9 a.m. on Saturday at Columbia U in Ferris Booth Hall. Child care is being organized by the Summerhill Collective, and housing will be available. For more information, write or call: Women's National Abortion Coalition, 137A W. 14 St., New York, N.Y. 10011, (212) 924-0894. Registration will be \$2.

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK CITY—Pvt. Ed Jurenas, the antiwar and socialist GI who had court-martial charges preferred against him at Ft. Greely, Alaska, for his role in publishing an antiwar newspaper, the *Arctic Arsenal*, was a keynote speaker at the preconvention rally that kicked off the July 2-4 National Antiwar Convention at Hunter College here. He also served on the presiding committee of the convention.

In an interview July 3, Jurenas said he was surprised that the Army allowed him the leave that made his attendance at the convention possible. "I had requested a 10-day leave to come to New York to consult with my attorney and attend the convention," Jurenas said, "but I didn't have high hopes." (Jurenas' attorney is James Lafferty, one of the coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition that sponsored the antiwar convention.)

At 9:30 in the morning June 30, "my CO told me I was getting the leave," said Jurenas, "but he also told me that at the conclusion of the leave, I was to report to the Presidio in the Bay Area for another assignment there."

Because his new base falls under another command division, Jurenas said, the court-martial charges against him will be re-preferred. This means the charges will have to be prepared all over again—"preferring charges" is preparing them, and is a step removed from formally lodging charges.

The charges preferred against Jurenas at Ft. Greely were for alleged violations of Universal Code of Military Justice Articles 89, 92, and 134—disrespect to an officer, failing to comply with a regulation and making disloyal statements—all based on the work he did in publishing the *Arctic Arsenal* and distributing it on post.

It seems clear that the brass decided to just get Jurenas out of Alaska, somehow hoping that might halt the

spreading GI antiwar activity.

Jurenas described the prospects for continued publication of the paper as "very bright." He said, "The second issue was better received than the first, and now we have a staff of 10 people who will keep it coming out regularly."

The efforts by the brass to stifle the expression of antiwar sentiment have had a boomerang effect, according to Jurenas. In the course of building a campaign to defend their right to publish the *Arsenal*, he and the other GIs who worked on the first issue have drawn more GIs into antiwar activity.

A Ft. Greely GIs United Against the War in Vietnam has been formed and Jurenas says its membership is "expanding every day."

Black GIs involved with the *Arsenal* and with GIs United have written to Huey Newton about forming a Ft. Greely chapter of the Black Panthers.

"The strongest reaction against what the brass is trying to do," Jurenas said, "has been among the GIs who have been to Vietnam. They are the most outspoken against the war, and they have been the most outspoken in defense of the right to put out the paper."

GIs at neighboring bases, such as the Kodiak Naval Station, have also expressed solidarity with Jurenas and support for the *Arctic Arsenal*, he said.

Before he left for New York, Jurenas said the *Arsenal* staff discussed putting out a special fact sheet on the revelations of the Pentagon documents.

Jurenas' plans when he gets to the Presidio, he said, are to "get in contact with the organized GI antiwar movement there and continue to exercise my right to protest against the war, as I have done since I was drafted."

After the convention, Jurenas was leaving on a speaking tour to Chicago, Detroit and the Bay Area before reporting at the Presidio.

The tour was organized by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, and GICLDC secretary Terry Hillman said Jurenas would be speaking on a number of radio shows as well as before groups.

Hillman said Senator George McGovern and Representatives Herman Badillo and Patsy Mink had all sent letters to officials of the Army protesting the charges pending against Jurenas.

The GICLDC needs contributions to help finance the printing and legal costs of Jurenas' defense. They can be sent to GICLDC, Box 355, Old Chelsea Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10011.



Pvt. Ed Jurenas addressing NPAC Convention in New York, July 2.

Editors of Rouge indicted for 'slander'

From Intercontinental Press

A five-count indictment for libeling the police, answerable on July 6 in a Paris court, was recently returned against Charles Michaloux, executive editor of the weekly *Rouge*, official organ of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International.

Based on articles appearing in five different issues, dating from last October 12 to March 15 of this year, the crimes with which *Rouge*, in the person of its executive editor, is charged include publicly insulting and slandering the police through articles "of such nature as to cast aspersions on the honor and repute of the police department, a public service." Each offense is punishable by eight days to one year in jail, plus a fine.

The first of the five articles cited in the indictment, a report on how Raymond Marcellin (who, as minister of interior, heads the police) had demanded that the minister of cultural affairs censor the film "Un Condé," ended with the words: "Go see 'Un Condé': You'll see the cops as they are in the street, in their headquarters, watchdogs of the ruling class—not as Marcellin would have us believe they are, honest functionaries in the service of the 'Republic.'" In addition to calling the cops "watchdogs of the ruling class," the report contained some of the censored dialogue.

The second of the offending articles, entitled "The Police, Justice, and the Regime," stated that in many cases policemen give false testimony, accusing the defendant of having struck or insulted them, when generally the defendant has been worked over by these same cops! The article also alleged that cops who had come to the courthouse in an ambulance left the courthouse in perfect health, on their own two feet, after giving their testimony.

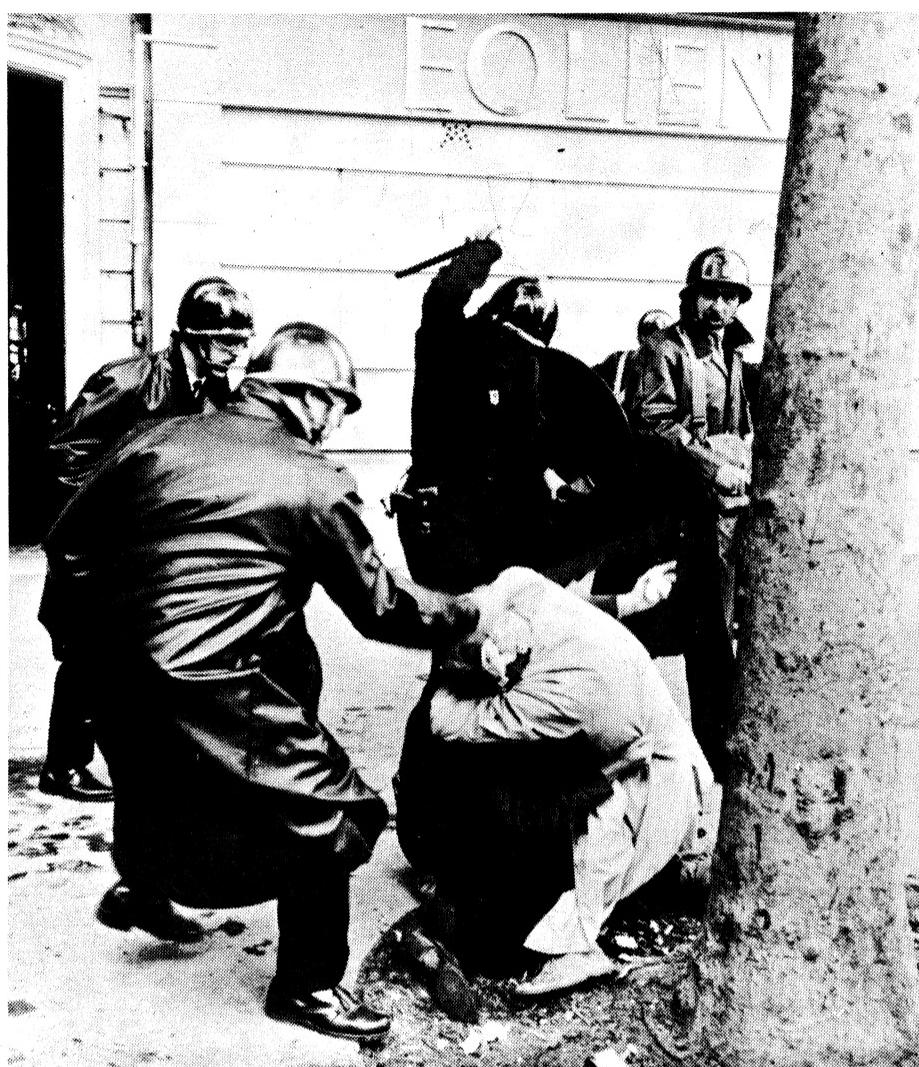
In the three remaining articles figuring in the indictment, *Rouge* (1) accused the French police of turning

Spanish militants over to their Franco counterparts; (2) expressed doubts about the circumstances surrounding the death of a young worker, Jean-Pierre Thévenin, in the police headquarters at Chambéry; and (3) spoke about collusion between the police and the fascistlike Ordre Nouveau (New Order), with special reference to a meeting in the Palais des Sports.

More interesting than the charges themselves is the timing of the indict-

ment. It is well known that the French bourgeoisie has a habit of moving against the working class during the months of July and August, when workers and students are on vacation and the risk of reaction is minimal. (The devaluation of the franc a couple of summers ago is a case in point.)

Even the Paris daily *Le Monde*, which can hardly be accused of leftist sympathies, felt constrained to comment on the timing of these charges:



Indictment against editors of Rouge accuses paper of casting aspersions on "honor and repute" of police.
Above, Paris cops at work.

"It remains to be seen if such prosecutions, launched more than eight months after publication of the first of the cited articles and more than three months after the appearance of the last, are inspired by concern for making the police respected or by the same politically opportunistic considerations that have already led to charges against Jean-Paul Sartre and to various proceedings against left-wing movements and the left-wing press. After getting through the dangerous months of May and June without too many incidents, on the eve of the vacation period (which, they hope, will temporarily disperse the militants), didn't the powers-that-be figure that the moment was favorable for neutralizing the most active elements without fear of too strong a reaction—and didn't they think it a good time to strengthen their position this way, in preparation for the return to work and school in the fall?"

There can be no doubt that this attack on *Rouge* is part and parcel of a general attack on the press. As *Rouge* itself comments: "What Marcellin is conducting is a frontal attack against the French press. Today it is evident that although he starts off with the far left, he has no intention of limiting himself to this. His ideal is a situation in which, just like his own subordinates, journalists take an oath of office—to be submissive, servile, Gaullist . . .

"The Committee for the Defense of Journalists, aware of the danger, is today waging a battle for freedom of the press. The defense of our paper is part of this larger battle, and we will see to it that *Rouge's* trial becomes a forum of struggle for freedom of the press."

A call for solidarity with *Rouge* has been signed by many of France's finest intellectuals, writers, and luminaries in all the arts. The signers declare themselves "ready to act as witnesses at the trial, thus demonstrating their determination to oppose the gradual installation of a police state in France."

Canadian revolutionists to hold conference

The first cross-Canada Socialist Education Conference will be held at the University of Waterloo, Aug. 20-25, in Waterloo, Ontario. Organized by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, the conference will be part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Canadian communism.

The site of the conference is near Guelph, where a group of revolutionaries met in May 1921, in a barn just outside the city limits, to launch the first serious effort at building a

revolutionary-socialist vanguard party in Canada. The group formed the Communist Party of Canada and joined the Third International led by Lenin and Trotsky. The heirs of that revolutionary heritage are to be found today in the LSA/LSO, and in the revolutionary youth organization, YS/LJS.

Right now, regional organizing teams are publicizing and building the conference all over Canada. According to the June 21 *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian revolutionary-socialist weekly, an organizing team in Vancouver, British Columbia, re-

ported recruiting five people to the YS and signing up another 150 interested in the YS and the Waterloo conference. A special train is being organized for the cross-Canada trip from British Columbia.

The main speeches at the conference are to be: "The New Radicalization and Where It Is Heading" by John Steele; "The Meaning of Life—A Marxist Analysis" by George Novack; "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" by Evelyn Reed; "Feminism and the Canadian Revolution" by Jacqueline Henderson; "Québec: The Struggle for Independence and Socialism"

by Manon Léger; "Fifty Years: Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada" by Ross Dowson; and "How to Make a Revolution in Canada" by Joan Newbigging.

Workshops and speakers from the European revolutionary movement are also featured.

The conference registration fee for the whole week is just \$30. A cross-country fund drive has been launched to raise \$5,500 to cover the projected deficit. For information, registration or contributions, write: Socialist Educational Conference, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

UFWOC organizes in San Diego County

By JESSE SMITH

SAN DIEGO—A spontaneous strike by unorganized farm workers, touched off when several of them were fired for wearing union buttons, has become the opening round in a drive to organize San Diego County.

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) has spent several months readying a campaign to unionize the hundreds of farms in the county, whose major crops include tomatoes, beans, lettuce, and avocados.

The strike against the Egger-Ghio farm here is now centered on gaining a union contract and is the UFWOC's first major fight in the area.

The union, with support from both Chicano and Anglo students and some Catholic priests and nuns, has been picketing the fields and growers' houses and is organizing a boycott of Egger-Ghio's E-MO brand.

The U.S. Labor Department certified the strike as a legal labor dispute last April 28. Such certification bars the employer from hiring Mexican citizens with temporary work permits (green card holders) as strike-breakers. But on June 24, as the tomato crop was getting ripe, the certification was rescinded.

Emil Ghio Jr. was elated. "It was

welcome news," he said on June 29. "Now we've been able to speed up our tomato harvest. We hired about 20 new alien workers yesterday."

Most of these workers live across the Mexican border in Tijuana, where large numbers of miserably poor unemployed gather from other parts of Mexico to get hired for work on U.S. farms.

Egger-Ghio has also hired Anglo strikebreakers who drive along picket lines at high speeds to intimidate farm workers and supporters. A fight took place June 29 between these goons and pickets, resulting in the arrest

of a picket who came to the defense of another striker attacked by scabs and company guards.

Pickets are frequently served with summonses and court orders. And the growers are seeking a permanent injunction against picketing of the houses and \$100,000 punitive damages from the union.

On the political front, growers are backing a bill, now pending in the California legislature, which would outlaw secondary boycotts and strikes during harvest. If passed, it would deprive the UFWOC of two of its major weapons.

Supreme Court ruling invites gov't prosecution

By DAVID THORSTAD

JULY 6 — The U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 6 to 3, ruled June 30 that the government could not prevent the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* from publishing articles based on the secret Pentagon papers. The following day, both newspapers resumed their series.

The decision, ending a round of intense struggle between the government and the major capitalist news media, dramatized the sharp division within the U.S. ruling class over what to do about the losing Vietnam war. While the decision represented a victory for freedom of the press, it virtually invited new attempts by the government to censor sensitive newspaper reports.

Each justice wrote his own opinion on the case, but they expressed three major positions. Since no single position had the support of a majority, the only statement that stands as a precedent is the unsigned decision. That decision asserted that any attempt to restrain the press comes into court bearing a "heavy presumption against its constitutional validity." Because of this, the government "carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the enforcement of such a restraint." The court ruled that in this case, the government "had not met that burden."

Thus, the decision did not rule out press censorship in general, but only stated that in this particular case, the Justice Department had not convinced the court that censorship was justified.

Justices Hugo Black, William Douglas, and Thurgood Marshall held that the government had no right whatsoever to restrain the press, regardless of considerations of national security.

Justice William Brennan Jr., Potter Stewart, and Byron White said that the press could be censored in cases where published material would cause immediate and irreparable damage to the nation, but that the Pentagon study did not pose such a threat.

Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justices Harry Blackmun and John Harlan said that if any executive official of cabinet rank claimed that material was dangerous to foreign relations and should not be published, the court had no right to challenge that assertion.

Contained in the decision was a warning, supported by four justices, that the press could be criminally prosecuted for printing the documents. White, one of those who had voted against restraining the newspapers, said that he "would have no difficulty in sustaining convictions" if the *Times* and *Post* were prosecuted, even though he was not in favor of prior restraint.

In its willingness to uphold convictions of those responsible for the *Times* and *Post* articles if the government were able to get convictions in the courts, the Supreme Court was out of step with the general sentiment throughout the country. A Gallup Poll, made public yesterday but taken before the court's ruling, revealed that 58 percent of the sample thought that publication of the documents was "the right thing." This is indicative of the tremendous public pressure on the Supreme Court to rule in favor of the newspapers.

Despite the failure of the court to make a clear-cut constitutional ruling, it will be extremely difficult, because of the mounting wave of popular sentiment demanding the truth about the war in Indochina, to prevent further disclosures like the ones that have just been published.

Whether the Nixon administration will now attempt to prosecute the editors of the newspapers or not is an open question. It is presently mapping out the course it will follow, although the Justice Department did announce on July 1, immediately following its defeat, that it intended to prosecute: "The Department of Justice is continuing

Continued on page 22

Viet proposal creates dilemma for Nixon

From Intercontinental Press

The seven-point peace proposal submitted July 1 by Nguyen Thi Binh, chief of the Provisional Revolutionary Government's (PRG) delegation to the Paris talks, has removed virtually the last prop from Richard Nixon's attempts to find some support for his war policies among the American people.

For months, Nixon has proclaimed that he would not withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam prior to the release of American prisoners of war. The government has engaged in a massive propaganda campaign designed to convince Americans that the prisoners are poorly treated and threatened with indefinite captivity.

The PRG proposal, which was supported by the North Vietnamese delegation, made it clear that the prisoners would be freed as soon as Nixon stopped the U.S. aggression in Indochina. The relevant portion of the text, according to a Reuters dispatch, reads as follows:

"If the U.S. Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1971 of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities:

"A. Of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp,

"B. Of the release of the totality of military men of all parties and the civilians captured in the war (including American pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

"These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date."

The proposal also offered a ceasefire "as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal."

The PRG initiative created a real dilemma for Nixon, who has no in-

tention of withdrawing all U.S. troops until he can assure the maintenance of a puppet regime in Saigon. His difficulties were noted even by such capitalist newspapers as the *Washington Post*, which commented in a July 2 editorial:

"Just to the extent that the new offer makes it easier for the United States to retrieve the prisoners, however, it will be objectionable to Mr. Nixon, for it does not promise to satisfy his primary war aim which is to give the Saigon government a reasonable chance to survive without continuing American ground combat support. . . . Throw in the obvious point that a commitment to complete withdrawal would preclude Mr. Nixon's planned 45,000-man residual force . . . and it is not hard to see why he may find Mrs. Binh's plan 'objectionable.'"

Nixon appeared to have decided that the best means of dealing with the PRG proposal was to stall. Officials of the administration insisted on a need for "clarification" of the plan. Terence Smith observed in the July 3 *New York Times*:

"It seems more likely that the Administration will first probe the meaning and motive behind the other side's offer, and then perhaps respond with a proposal that conforms more closely to its own goals."

In the July 2 *Times*, James M. Naughton noted the "possibility" that Nixon, ". . . determined not to undercut the position of President Nguyen Van Thieu, would attempt to delay any resolution of the issues in Paris until after the presidential elections in South Vietnam in October."

But Nixon may have less time to stall than he would like to think.

The massive demonstrations against the war planned for the fall may now be swelled by hundreds of thousands of persons who realize that they can help force Nixon to bring all the troops home now.

Conviction of Koen upheld by court

By DERRICK MORRISON

On June 28, the Missouri Supreme Court chose to uphold a 1968 assault conviction against Rev. Charles Koen, executive director of the Cairo United Front and chairman of the National Black United Fronts. And in another blow to the Black community of Cairo, Ill., Bobby Lee Williams, economic developer of the Front, was arrested by federal agents on a charge of illegal possession of weapons and has been restricted to the state of Missouri.

Rev. Koen's conviction in 1968 arose out of police harassment because of his activities in the St. Louis Black liberation movement. At the time of the incident, he and Leon Dent were stopped by police for supposedly having no tail lights. Both were taken to the police station, where they were brutally attacked by police. Rev.

Koen received fractures of his head, both hands, and bruises and other wounds. He was so badly beaten that police left him for dead. He required several weeks of hospitalization. Despite his condition, he was charged with assault against the police!

Although his conviction is being appealed, he is subject to arrest at any time, according to Front officials. The sentence is six months in the St. Louis County jail.

In the case of Williams, despite his restricted travel, he has begun to organize a St. Louis Black United Front.

These cases are examples of continuing repression against the Cairo Front. To effectively fight the court battles stemming from such repression, funds are very much in need. Contributions can be sent to: Cairo United Front, P.O. Box 544, Cairo, Ill., 62914.

"Can you be sure that publication of those papers won't somehow some way result in casualties?"

In Our Opinion

N.Y. abortion record

Since the new New York State abortion law went into effect one year ago, on July 1, 1970, 165,000 abortions have been performed in New York City and an additional 42,000 in other parts of New York State. During the month of April alone close to 23,000 abortions were performed. This is almost one abortion for every baby born—950 abortions for every 1,000 births. The number of abortions continues to grow rapidly.

The experience with a liberalized abortion law in New York (the law legalizes abortions done by a doctor up to the 24th week of pregnancy) confirms what the women's liberation movement has been saying about abortions from the very beginning.

First of all, the New York experience confirms that the number of women who desire abortions is very great; that the denial of the right to abortion through antiabortion laws is the denial of the fundamental rights of masses of women. Sixty-four percent of the abortions in New York City were performed on women from other states and countries, demonstrating the acute need for repeal of antiabortion laws all over the country and world.

The New York experience has also shown that legalizing abortion will lead to a decrease in the number of women injured or killed by illegal abortionists. Maternal mortality, mainly due to backroom, botched abortions, is now at a record low of 2.3 for each 10,000 live births, as compared with 5.2 per 10,000 one year ago. Deaths from legal abortion during the first year under the New York law were only 5.3 per 100,000, which is far better than the record of Great Britain or the Scandinavian countries, which also have liberal abortion laws.

Before the new law, Black and Puerto Rican women suffered ten times the maternal death rate of white women—mainly due to the dangers inherent in illegal abortions. Under the new law in New York, about one-half the abortions done in the city were for Black and Puerto Rican women. Thirty-one percent of the total number of abortions obtained in New York City by residents of the state were paid for by Medicaid.

The new law has also made it possible for women who desire an abortion to have one early in pregnancy and therefore more safely. Now 80 percent of women in New York have their abortions before the 13th week of pregnancy.

The experience with the New York law has clearly demonstrated that legalization of abortion is necessary to relieve women of untold suffering. Now what is needed is a network of inexpensive abortion clinics and free referral services to increase the availability of abortions to all women.

The New York abortion statistics and safety record should serve as valuable ammunition for the women's movement all over the country and world in the fight for repeal of all abortion laws and ultimately free abortion on demand.

26th amendment

On June 30, the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, which lowers the voting age to 18 in all elections, was ratified by the last of the 38 states needed for it to become law. It was officially certified by President Nixon on July 5.

The adoption of this amendment was the culmination of a process that began in May 1970, in the wake of the massive nationwide student antiwar strike protesting the invasion of Cambodia. Lowering the voting age was seen by many liberal politicians as a way of redirecting the political energies of young people back into the mainstream of capitalist politics and getting them off the streets.

But, adding 11 million young Americans to the voting lists will only give added impetus to the radicalization. As has been true for every other important extension of basic civil liberties from the Bill of Rights on, this victory was won only after mass pressure was brought to bear on the American rulers.

Student youth can now demand, with greater determination than before, to hear all points of view in their schools during elections, including those of revolutionary socialists. They can further insist on their right not only to vote but also to hold public office.

As he signed the amendment into law, Nixon piously stated, "America has never in this century used its strength to break the peace, only to keep it." In light of the revelations in the Pentagon papers, it may be reckless for America's rulers to be so careless with their facts. But while it is too much to expect liars to stop telling lies, the 26th Amendment will make it harder for them to get away with it.

Letters

Veterans' action

Your Seattle reporter must have failed to cover the Seattle Memorial Day parade, so here is a report.

Veterans Against the War (VAW) stole the show in the Memorial Day parade here. They were 60 strong, and that's an excellent percentage out of a membership of only 300.

The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), with Seattle memberships of more than 10,000, could muster but few more than the VAW. This fact apparently registered with the local television stations, who gave more footage to the VAW segment than to any other part of the parade.

Even the Legion and VFW were impressed by the VAW showing, and members of those organizations gave more attention to recruiting VAW members into the Legion and VFW than to observance of the nation's war dead.

The VAW is presently considering a policy of joining and working within these established veterans' organizations, according to Don Treese, spokesman for the Seattle VAW. In this way they can bring their antiwar views to the front through open debates in order to change the outlook of the established veterans' organizations and use them to wield a powerful influence on government policies.

Veterans Against the War has two Seattle addresses: Don Treese at 5262 15th N.E., and room 209F in the University of Washington HUB, where they are sharing a room with the Young Democrats. Veterans of all wars are invited to contact them at either of these addresses.

G.L.
Seattle, Washington

Alaska strike

I have been visiting in Alaska and thought you might like to know what is going on up here.

On April 15 the American Communications Association (Teamsters) won the right in an NLRB election to represent telephone operators, warehousemen and technicians at RCA Alaska Communications, Inc. Contract negotiations have been going on in Anchorage for the past six weeks, with some 700 workers involved.

On June 22, work stoppages occurred twice, and the telephone operators effectively halted long distance communication in Alaska, where there is no direct distance dialing yet. This is a brand new local for the Alaska Teamsters and the workers are enthusiastic and have learned fast. There was 100 percent participation in the work stoppages. A whistle blew, workers joined hands in stoppage and solidarity, and the board buzzed.

Barney Toner from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service is on hand, and the contract negotiations resumed on June 23. Issues center around wages and working conditions.

L.S.
Anchorage, Ala.

China and Pakistan

Chinese support to the West Pakistani genocide in Bangla Desh will gravely weaken the revolutionary movements in West Bengal and other parts of India. Of late the Naxalite movement has acquired strength all over India and it is now a major force in West Bengal. This movement could easily have provided leadership to the emerging mass struggle in East Bengal.

It has been suggested that once the bourgeois leadership of Bangla Desh is wiped out by the West Pakistani Army with Chinese support, China will help build a genuine revolutionary guerrilla force in Bangla Desh. Anyone who has read the history of the Vietnamese revolution will see that it is quite unnecessary to accept a million or more dead in order to first eliminate the bourgeois leadership.

In fact, it is quite clear that the Chinese leaders are not at all worried about the fate of the struggling masses of Bengal. China, which is fast adopting Stalinist statism as its official ideology, regards acquisition of military bases on the Bay of Bengal as more important than the success of Bengali revolution.

A.G.
Pasadena, Calif.

Editor's reply: While we do not share our reader's estimate of the revolutionary potential of the Naxalite movement, we agree with the conclusion that the Chinese leaders are more concerned with their own diplomatic maneuvers than the needs of the Bengali masses.

Boston job squeeze

It is hard to find work in the Boston area and unemployment is high, but that has not yet made it easy for the bosses to find scabs to break strikes.

Some hard strikes are being fought here. One example was the 84-day strike against Boston Edison, which involved about 3,500 members of the Utility Workers of America in three separate locals of that union.

The workers finally went back without any great gains, considering the rapidly rising cost of living.

The labor mediators and the company have been pressuring them to settle almost from the beginning. Management claimed the workers really wanted to get back to work at low wages but were prevented from doing so by the union and insisted that a secret ballot be sent to the homes of all strikers. This is an old trick to try to get a vote without benefit of discussion at union meetings about the terms of the offer.

The union officials agreed anyway to such a vote about three weeks before the strike finally ended. At that time two of the three UWA locals turned down the offer. The last holdout was the local of professional and engineering workers, who are paid much below the average rate for highly trained and skilled workers.

The local papers have been carrying lots of publicity about the large numbers of scientists and engineers who are unemployed—100,000 they say.

It surely has some effect on strikers to keep telling them that they ought to feel themselves lucky to have a job when so many others are out of work, but it does not make living easier or the job more pleasant for them to go back at low wages after being out for almost three months, as happened with the utility workers.

The next thing we can expect is a big jump in utility rates to make up for the decent wage raise the utility workers did not get.

Bob Horn
Boston, Mass.

The Great Society

Free Taiseer Al-Zu'bi

It was brought to the attention of the Bloomington Palestine Solidarity Committee that Taiseer Al-Zu'bi, a member of the General Secretariat of the National Union of Jordan's Students, has been arrested by the Jordanian authorities in the first week of June 1971.

According to radical Arab press, the life of Taiseer Al-Zu'bi is in grave danger due to atrocious prison conditions and the torture he is put under.

The Executive of the Palestine Solidarity Committee of Bloomington, Ind., calls upon all friends to help save the life of Taiseer Al-Zu'bi by publicizing the matter and sending letters of protest of King Hussein (Amman, Jordan), and U Thant (United Nations, N.Y., N.Y.), demanding the safe release of Taiseer.

We urge you all to write. The life of a human being and a militant revolutionary is at stake.

Freedom for Taiseer Al-Zu'bi
NOW!

C.K.

Bloomington, Ind.

Sexist advertising

The Women's Liberation Union of Rhode Island has just filed a complaint against the *Providence Journal Bulletin* for its sexist advertising, in that it runs its ads under male and female columns. We charge the *Journal* with discriminatory practices in its help wanted column. This practice is a clear and direct violation of the state Fair Employment Practices Act, Title VII of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 and regulations of the federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

We have asked the Human Rights Commission to order the *Providence Journal Bulletin* to cease this practice at once and begin running help wanted ads without any reference to sex.

We know that the *Providence Journal* could never run help wanted advertisements saying "Help Wanted—Blacks" and "Help Wanted—Whites" because of the recent civil rights struggles. Similarly, the women's liberation movement will not tolerate help wanted ads that funnel women into low paying, menial jobs.

It is common knowledge that professional and highly paid jobs are dominated by men. Statistics show that women earn on the average \$3,000 less than men. The *Journal* must cease its clear and open discrimination against women. We demand that all fields of employment be open to women and that they be paid the same wages as men for the same job.

Jill Fein
Women's Liberation Union
Providence, R.I.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Anti-alienation program—An industrial psychologist advised employers that employee thefts can be utilized as a "motivational tool" and "a safety valve for frustration." The workers really don't get to rip off all that much, he noted "and the intellectual and physical challenge provided by the opportunities to steal represent a significant enrichment of the individual's job." And, he might have added, there's always the thought that if you get good enough at it, you'll be boss.

They dig school cafeterias—Bacteria, the Associated Press advises, can make a meal of crab shells, railroad ties, transmission grease or old rubber tires.

It's fortunate that Jesus saves—Contributions to religious institutions increased by only 3.5 percent last year, a figure that did not keep pace with either the rise in personal income or with the shrinking value of the dollar. The total religious take was a mere \$8.2-billion, which concerned observers note is a piddling ten percent of the military budget. And probably not a great deal more than the bread wasted on things like homes and schools.

So they can see you coming—The

giant neon signs at the gaming establishments in Lost Wages, Nevada, consume enough power to illuminate a 300-mile highway with street lamps 75 feet apart. The sign at the Dune stands 18 stories high and weighs almost as much as five 707 jets. It cost a half million dollars to build and has an electric bill of over \$4,000 a month.

Anal entrepreneurs—The *Wall Street Journal* reports that despite current business difficulties, numerous executives are still sinking huge sums into ultralush offices, with particular attention focused on the executive toilet. One impressively consistent fellow has 14-karat gold-plate fixtures throughout, including the toilet paper roller. Another, apparently cold-blooded type, has a seat of black onyx. One esthetic type commissioned a sculptor to design his bowl.

... and for the anal employee—If the foreman won't let you fix up the toilet like the boss's, check with the Rathcon company about having a special job installed at home. Sink, tub and toilet bowl are hand carved marble. Spigots, towel bars, etc., 24k goldplate. A needlework rug is thrown

in for the marble floor. No specifications on the toilet chain. Complete, \$16,000.

Snap him to attention—Patriotic employers are being offered desk-sized flagpoles with a concealed jet stream that causes the flag to flutter. For his next birthday, you might take a collection to get a second one for the executive toilet.

Our credit-card economy—In grappling with Marx's Capital, one thought was easily grasped on the basis of long personal experience. That was the concept that under capitalism, the relationship between debtor and creditor tends to become fixed. We were reminded of this on learning that the U.S. debt, public and private, increased by \$117-billion in 1970. Total U.S. indebtedness—governmental, business and personal—now stands at a solid \$1.84 trillion.

Still liquid—Despite all the talk about American capitalism's liquidity crisis—or maybe because of it—370 million gallons of spirits were consumed in 1970, an increase of eight million gallons over 1969.

—HARRY RING

Women: The Insurgent Majority

The May 21 *Militant* carried an article on the fight of welfare mothers in Tennessee against a bill in the legislature which would have forced women with one or more "illegitimate" children to submit to sterilization or lose all welfare benefits. After protests by welfare mothers, who picketed the legislature and demanded public hearings on the bill, the bill was fortunately defeated.

In its place, the Tennessee legislature has passed one of the nation's most liberal laws concerning contraception and voluntary sterilization.

The new law says that: "All medically acceptable contraceptive procedures, supplies and information shall be readily and practicably available to each and every person desirous of the same regardless of sex, race, age, income, number of children, marital status, citizenship or motive."

The law also provides that: "To the extent that family planning funds are available, each agency and institution of this state and each of its political subdivisions shall provide contraceptive procedures, supplies and information including voluntary sterilization procedures for male or female to any medically indigent persons free of charge.

"The same service shall be available to all others who are unable to obtain service privately at a cost to be determined by the agency or institution."

A provision stipulating that abortion also be available was stricken from the bill during consideration by the legislature.

This experience in Tennessee shows the importance of women injecting their point of view into the ferment over abortion and contraception laws. We must fight for abortion and contraception to be available on demand—not forced—so that women can control our own bodies and lives.

Declaring that laws against abortion are neither "just nor enforceable," the biennial convention of the United Church of Christ called June 29 for repeal of all legal prohibitions on abortions performed by doctors. The synod declared that voluntary and safe abortions should be available to all women. In explaining its decision, which was made by a 523-to-51 vote, the synod statement said: abortion laws "compel women either to bear unwanted children or to seek illegal abortion, regardless of the medical hazards and suffering involved."

Women are breaking their way into more male strong-

holds every week. In Missoula, Mont., 20 young women have become the first female firefighting crew in the U.S. Forest Service. In Las Vegas, Nev., two women won suits demanding their right to employment as blackjack dealers. They were refused jobs at 12 casinos and hotels on the basis of their sex. Meanwhile, in Philadelphia four eighth graders served as the first "altar girls" at a suburban Catholic church. They were prevented from continuing by the archdiocese, however, which ruled that girls were precluded from serving mass. Fourteen-year-old Regina Durante, who initiated the drive for altar girls, said, "I just didn't think it was fair for the boys to do it alone." About 46 girls in the parish signed up to learn to be altar girls.

"AMA Chief Asks Role for Young Men," and "AMA Divided by Appeal to Give Role to Young Men" were headlines in the June 24 and June 25 *New York Times*. Later in the articles, it becomes clear that "young men" is supposed to be synonymous with "young doctors."

The growing effect of the women's liberation movement on working women was indicated by the recent triennial convention of the Office and Professional Employees International Union. The Michigan AFL-CIO News reported that the entire convention focused on the problems of working women. About 70 percent of the union's 80,000 members are women. A resolution was passed calling on unions and industry to establish jointly administered day-care centers for the children of workers. The convention also condemned the "double discrimination" against divorced or widowed women workers. Union president Howard Coughlin noted that, "While organized women employees often earn less than men, these women (divorced or widowed) are offered even less than their 'normal' substandard salary if prospective employers discover they are receiving alimony or are beneficiaries of insurance policies or estates."

Apparently this union is not yet ready, however, to let women into the real leadership of the union. Coughlin was reelected international president for the eighth time, having served since 1953, and the secretary-treasurer, also a male, has served since the union was founded in 1945.

—CAROLINE LUND

Striking UAW local rejects company offer

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, July 5—For a third time, and after 22 weeks of strike against Pesco Products Division of Borg-Warner in Bedford Heights, Ohio, members of UAW Local 363 voted 179-131 to reject the company proposal for a three-year contract. The primary concern in the vote was the absence of an unlimited escalator clause in the company proposal.

The angry members focused their vocal opposition and heckling on Clare Phillips, UAW staff representative sent in from Detroit to settle the strike, which has now cost the international union \$400,000 in strike benefits.

"Are you trying to sell us an inferior bill of goods after we paid out good money in support of the General Motors strike?" one member asked. All but two members of the local executive board voted to accept the company proposal. They were astonished, and on the defensive—not having expected such vociferous and widespread resentment from the members.

Borg-Warner is a multinational corporation listed by *Fortune* magazine as one of the hundred largest in the U.S. It owns 69 plants in 51 cities and 77 plants in 22 foreign countries. Last year it made a profit of \$31-million.



Striking UAW members at General Motors' Southgate plant in Los Angeles last fall. UAW members on strike in Cleveland are demanding settlement similar to the one won from GM.

"Why do we always have to take on Borg-Warner corporation in bad times?" Clare Phillips pleaded. "Aircraft is laying off all over the country. Your membership has been cut over 50 percent in the last year. The international union is now badly in debt. Solidarity House and Black Lake Camp are in hock to the Teamsters union."

It was apparent that a section of the opposition to the contract had prepared for these defeatist arguments because one member immediately answered the staff representative, who, in a weak moment, had admitted that his salary of \$15,000 a year would continue no matter how the local voted: "Borg-Warner is a billion-dollar corporation and not too long ago increased its assets by 25 percent, so these are not bad times for the owners. All of us are highly skilled, and yet we did not make \$8,000 last year. This is a shameful wage. Even rubbish collectors, cops and firemen make more. The inflation has hurt us in the past three years because we didn't

have the protection of an unlimited escalator clause. We'll be in worse condition three years from now if we buy this contract."

Because of an injunction against mass picketing by the union, strikers' wives have been maintaining the picket lines and preventing many scabs from entering the plant. Engineers, clerks, supervisors and professional people have been working on production.

The strikers are highly skilled and have been with the company from 18 to 35 years. They are determined to sign no contract unless it complies fully with the General Motors pattern that was established last winter. The corporation this year signed agreements with seven of the 16 plants under UAW jurisdiction.

Pesco Products is taking advantage of the current crisis in the aircraft industry to go ahead with its plans to break the strike. They have advertised for scabs—"college students 20 and over may apply"—in all Cleveland suburban papers, offering a \$3-an-hour starting rate.

No Cleveland area company since the 1950s has attempted to break a strike with the use of injunctions and scabs. Pesco's efforts today to hire student scabs have angered many youths who read the ad or heard the announcement over the radio. Offers

'The abortion laws murder women!'

The following comments were made by Dr. Barbara Roberts—member of New Haven Women's Liberation and a coordinator of Women vs. Connecticut—on June 12, 1971, at the first meeting of the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition. Women vs. Connecticut is a group of over 1,500 plaintiffs who have filed a class action suit challenging the constitutionality of the Connecticut abortion laws. The June 12 meeting called a national women's abortion conference to be held in New York, July 17-18.

I thought I would begin by giving you some of the reasons why I became involved in the abortion issue. The first thing that radicalized my thinking (for I had been raised a Roman Catholic) was having several years ago the experience of an unwanted pregnancy and being unable to obtain an abortion.

Then, as I continued in medical school, I began seeing more of the fall-out of abortion laws. I saw a woman brought into the emergency room with half of her bowel hanging out of her vagina; she had been driven to a criminal abortionist because doctors were afraid to help her. I saw the bodies of battered children—burned and broken bodies—lying in morgues and hospital wards. Children who were never wanted, who never had a chance, who never should have been born. And I saw women driven to drink and drugs and suicide by a church that told them birth control was wrong, let alone abortion, and so condemned them to a life of mindless breeding.

Abortion laws murder women! Their murderers are not one man, or several men, but a whole society which has systematically denied us the one right about which there should be no argument—the right to control our own bodies.

We are here today because in less than one year, the Supreme Court, a group of nine men whose average age

is greater than sixty, will decide for the more than 100 million women in this country whether or not abortion laws violate our constitutional right to privacy. Their decision will either be a milestone in our struggle to control our own bodies, or it will deal a staggering blow to our movement by forcing us to be the unwilling producers of the next generation of cannon fodder.

If we sit back and do nothing, this is very likely to happen. Even in countries where abortion is "legal," it is so only so long as a falling birth rate is considered desirable. When war or economic recession threatens, abortion laws are quickly reinstated or strengthened, as happened in Russia and Germany on the eve of World War II. No country has ever upheld the right of women to control their own bodies. Most explicitly deny us that right.

Between now and next spring, we must inform the government that we will no longer tolerate laws that degrade, mutilate, and murder us. We must educate them to the idea that the only good abortion law is no abortion law. And we must be successful because a bad decision on their part will mean a return to the Dark Ages.

Abortion is not a moral issue. It is not an ethical issue. And it's not a population issue. We must not let those who favor abortion as a means of oppressing Third World women divide us. Only by the repeal of all abortion laws, with no forced sterilization, will all women be free to choose when or whether to bear children. This is only a necessary first step in our fight to liberate our bodies and our minds from a society which means to control both. If we divide our energies among all the obstacles facing us, the Catholic hierarchy, Richard Nixon and all the other sanctimonious friends of the fetus will prevail. But if all women—rich or poor, gay or straight, Black, Red, Yellow, white or Brown—unite to demand our right to abortion, the first major battle of our revolution will be won.

Women workers in Detroit walk off job

By HELEN SCHIFF

DETROIT—The female employees of the Foto Mat Corporation, members of the Retail Clerks International Association Local 876, have been on strike since the last week in June. The "Fotomates," as they are called by the corporation, put in a 30-hour, six-day week, working in little huts where customers come to drop off film to be developed.

The women must deposit their daily receipts at the bank on their own time after work. They are often robbed at their huts or on route to the bank, but the company refuses to give them protection and insurance in case of injury. Foto Mat does not allow a "girl" to leave her booth if she is sick until she has found a substitute to replace her.

The strike was precipitated by a cut in starting wages from \$1.90 an hour to \$1.65. The rationalization for this wage cut by the company was that the women were only temporary workers who would soon be getting married, having families, and therefore did not need the money. However, 80 percent of the women are attending

college, turnover is slight, the majority of women have worked for the two-year-old corporation between six and 12 months, and many are not necessarily planning on getting married.

Although paid holidays, sick days, and a 20-cent-an-hour across-the-board raise are the major demands of the strikers, the women are also fed up with the company's blatant sexism. The women are hired on the basis of their looks, are instructed in the use of make-up and sexist sales techniques, and told that their experience in grooming and efficiency will make them attractive items on the marriage market and good housewives.

The striking women have appealed for support from Wayne State University Women's Liberation, well known as leaders of last March's mass abortion demonstration. A picket line around the Foto Mat area office in Detroit has been called by the Wayne women for July 9 from 12 to 2 p.m. Publicity in the campus, underground and regular press, and radio is being arranged to publicize the strike and put pressure on the corporation for a decent settlement.

By CAROLINE LUND

On July 16-18, women from across the country will meet in New York to map out plans for a national campaign for repeal of abortion laws. The conference, called by the Women's National Abortion Coalition, has already gained broad support from hundreds of organizations from one end of the country to the other. Endorsers include women's liberation groups on campuses, high schools and in the community, consciousness-raising groups, chapters of the National Organization for Women, Black feminist groups, chapters of the National Welfare Rights Organization, trade-union women, and many others.

This national conference, which is open to all women, will try to map out a united program of action concerning one of the basic questions raised by the women's movement: the right to control our own bodies and lives—the right to legal abortion.

Women will come to this first national conference from many different backgrounds and with many different ideas. It will be an open and democratic conference where many important issues will be debated and discussed. This sort of collective thinking and counterposing of ideas helps the development of a perspective on how to win liberation. Much of the discussion will probably revolve around how best to build a mass movement that can reach out to the thousands of women who are just beginning to question the traditional role foisted upon them in this society.

does not at all mean giving up the fight on other issues. These struggles will in fact be strengthened and advanced by a successful abortion campaign which would demonstrate the power of women to fight resolutely and to win victories.

Women have begun fighting against their oppression on many levels, demanding abortion, equal pay, equal job opportunities, equal education, child care, women's studies and justice in many other fields. Each of these struggles will have its own momentum, and in the future, mass struggles will be organized around virtually all of these concrete issues. On Aug. 26 of last year, these basic ideas of women's liberation were brought before the eyes of masses of women for the first time.

But over the past few years, and especially since Aug. 26, we have seen that the struggle for the right to abortion is the issue where the broadest layers of women are being mobilized into action. One reason for this is that women realize our rights are under sharp attack on this question. We must answer and defeat all the antiabortion forces, which range from President Nixon to the Catholic Church hierarchy and all the "right to life" and ultra-right groupings that are springing up.

It is precisely by focusing on the abortion issue at this time that we can achieve the most significant gains and victories for women and give the greatest impetus to the developing women's liberation movement.

The problem with adding other issues to the national abortion campaign is that we would no longer have an abortion campaign! Each additional issue added would have the effect of excluding

argued that adding only the demand for freedom of sexual expression was not adding a separate issue. They contended that the demand for freedom of sexual expression "relates to a woman's right to the privacy and control of her body as do the other three issues of abortion, contraception and sterilization."

First of all, abortion on demand, no forced sterilization, and the right to contraception are not three distinct issues, but are totally interrelated. The basic issue underlying all of them is the right of a woman to decide whether or not she wants to have a child.

The main reason women need abortions is because of the failure of contraceptives or their unavailability. The reason why it is necessary to link our demand for the right to abortion with no forced sterilization is to make completely clear that it must be the *woman's decision*. We must make it clear—especially to Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican women—that this campaign has nothing to do with "population control" measures that deny the right of the woman to decide, such as forcing a woman to be sterilized as a condition for obtaining an abortion.

In a united action campaign, it is sometimes correct to add demands that qualify or clarify or extend the principal demand. The demand for "no forced sterilization" is a good example. By adding this demand, we may exclude some women who support "population control" measures even though they may also support repeal of abortion laws. But we must make it explicit to the vast majority of women in this country whom we hope to

National Abortion Campaign

How women can unite



At a meeting of 225 women held June 12 to begin planning for the abortion conference, a number of important questions were raised and discussed. One of the key questions was whether the national action campaign should be around the abortion issue only, or around several different issues. The decision of the June 12 meeting was to focus the campaign around the two interrelated demands for repeal of all antiabortion laws and no forced sterilization, while also raising the demand for repeal of all laws against contraception. The main thrust of the campaign of action was seen as the demand for repeal of abortion laws.

Some women proposed that another demand be added—that of "freedom of sexual expression." Women who support the addition of this demand to the national abortion campaign have formed a caucus called Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression (WISE), which plans to present its viewpoint to the national conference.

Other women, from the group International Socialists, expressed the view in a leaflet passed out at the June 12 meeting that, although they "had no objection" to a campaign which focuses on abortion, other issues, such as child care, equal access to jobs and education and support for rights of gay women, should be raised as well. They warned that "a single-issue focus can be the death of a movement," and pointed to the decline of the women's movement after winning women's suffrage as supposed proof of the bankruptcy of the "single issue" approach.

Why abortion?

Women from both IS and WISE said they thought building a united action campaign around abortion meant "axing off" the other important issues of women's liberation.

But intensifying the struggle for the right to abortion through uniting in action on this issue

more and more women—who may agree on the need for abortion law repeal, but not on the other demands. Thus, each additional demand will cut across the campaign we can organize for abortion law repeal.

Women's suffrage movement

The women's suffrage movement, which culminated in victory in 1920, is a perfect example of the potential power of mobilizing for mass action around a single but fundamental demand. The reason for the decline of the women's movement after the suffrage victory lies in the limitations imposed by the objective political conditions at that time—not in the fact that the movement focused on the suffrage issue. The struggle for the right to vote is precisely what kept the movement alive and dynamic.

It was completely correct for the women's movement to concentrate its efforts on winning this basic right. If women still did not have the right to vote, that would be the obvious focus for our struggle today.

In belittling the campaign for the single issue of women's suffrage, International Socialists belittle the burning desire of women at that time to assert their rights as equal citizens and as human beings capable of thinking and deciding on political questions, not only on questions of cooking, cleaning and child care.

In a similar sense, the abortion issue is extremely fundamental and an abortion campaign will have the effect of changing women's image of themselves, of freeing them from the burden of fear and shame about their own sexual functions, and of demonstrating the power of mass action in defense of our rights.

"Sexual expression"

Women for the Inclusion of Sexual Expression

mobilize in support of abortion repeal that our action campaign is based on a principled demand in the interests of women—not on any attempt to take away the right of the woman to decide for herself. It has nothing in common with various racist campaigns to reduce the number of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano babies.

But the demand for freedom of sexual expression is not a demand of this character. It is an issue separate from the question of the right to decide whether to have a child.

First of all, the demand for "freedom of sexual expression" is extremely vague. It is open to several interpretations, and does not make clear to people what is being protested. Does it mean any form of "sexual" activity should be allowed? What about forced sexual relations, such as rape? Certainly WISE did not mean this, but the point is that the demand is not clear. Does it mean freedom of sexual expression for women but not for men? Does it mean eliminating the laws against fornication, adultery, "sodomy," and homosexual acts?

For most women, the laws against fornication and adultery are not very pressing issues because they are seldom enforced. If we wanted to add additional demands to the campaign, there are many other issues that are more oppressive to women than these laws.

The laws against homosexuals, on the other hand, are a very pressing issue for gay people, because they are a basis for the pervasive and brutal oppression of homosexuals. The demand for an end to the laws directed against gay people is a correct demand—a demand that makes clear what is being protested and who is the victim of injustice. But the demand for "freedom of sexual expression" is not clear.

But aside from the question of how the demand is formulated, the addition of such a demand to

Continued on page 21

By LEE SMITH

Gus Grey Mountain is one of six Indian defendants facing felony charges for painting slogans on the American Museum of Natural History and pouring red paint over the head of a statue of Theodore Roosevelt.

Grey Mountain and the other five members of Determined Redmen Unity Movement (DRUM) were originally charged with a misdemeanor when they were arrested June 14, but in the course of their arraignment the charges were changed to "criminal mischief," carrying a possible sentence of up to four years in jail and \$5,000 fine for each defendant.

On July 1, Grey Mountain talked to *The Militant* about the defense campaign being waged in behalf of the six Indian activists.

The whole thing began, Grey Mountain said, when DRUM members heard that the Indians occupying Alcatraz Island had been moved off by federal officers. On June 13, he said, "we were sitting around looking through the *New York Times* for some news on Alcatraz, and all we could find was a lot of garbage about a wedding in Washington." Feeling anger and frustration, Grey Mountain said, the group got some red paint and headed for the Roosevelt statue the next day.

The statue portrays Roosevelt astride a horse flanked by two men on foot—an Indian and an African-American. "I knew a little bit about Teddy Roosevelt," Grey Mountain said, "and I knew he was a real racist, and we didn't like the idea of the Indian and the Black man walking beside him."

Grey Mountain and the other members of DRUM maintain that the racist statue should be removed, and that the painting was a justified protest against what has happened to American Indians for more than 300 years at the hands of white people.

"When we were arrested," Grey Mountain said, "the cops made a big deal of it. It caused all kinds of excitement at the station house that they had arrested these Indians, and everyone crowded around and wanted to see the 'chiefs' and the 'squaws,' and this is the kind of racist language we were subjected to."

Grey Mountain said the charges were escalated to felony charges after the Indians refused an offer from the museum to pay \$1,000 restitution in return for dropping the charges. "What we did was justified," Grey Mountain said. "They should get rid of that statue, not clean it up."

Grey Mountain, who was a founder of DRUM, said his defense and the defense of the other five members was the first real breakthrough in the group's year of existence. "Before we were arrested, we had trouble getting our people together. Living in this city gives Indians 'subway vision' and they start to become apples," he said. He explained that "subway vision" means "not seeing anything you don't want to see. In order to survive in this city, the Indian has to adapt to

the rat race, and Indian values and traditions get lost. We say people become 'apples' because they are red on the outside but white on the inside," he added.

But the defense has now had the effect of rallying Indians behind DRUM and promoting cooperation from other groups. "Not just Indian groups either," Grey Mountain said, "but Asian groups and Black groups

of his experience in Vietnam. "Before I went into the Army, I was really brainwashed," said Grey Mountain, who is part Navajo and part Arapaho and comes from New Mexico. "They laid it on thick and I ate it up, about the American Indians being born warriors and how we fight for this country because it's ours and how Indians distinguished themselves in World War II."

like my people. Then I started realizing that they were natives of that country. We didn't belong there!"

Grey Mountain recalled an incident when his unit "interrogated" a prisoner. "What that means is beating the shit out of him," he said. "I couldn't see how anybody could take that much pain and still stand up under it, but this Vietnamese was," Grey Mountain said. The GIs asked the prisoner about Russian and Chinese advisers, Grey Mountain continued, "and he said 'I haven't seen any Russians and I haven't seen any Chinese; all I see are GIs everywhere.'"

Later on in the hospital, Grey Mountain said, he remembered the prisoner's courage, "but the full impact didn't hit me until I got out of the hospital, took my uniform off and went home."

"I walked down the street in my home town," Grey Mountain said, "and I looked at the way my people were being treated. White people were taking their money, selling them wine, throwing them in jail and spitting on them." He said, "I almost got arrested then. I went into a store and this woman waited on these white people ahead of me even though I was there first. I got angry and I put my boot through a display case there by the cash register that was full of cigars."

"That's when I realized completely," Grey Mountain continued, "that it's all a big lie. There isn't any freedom, any democracy—for some people, maybe, if they have money—but if you're an Indian or a Black or a Mexican or an Asian or a Puerto Rican, then democracy is just a word, that's all."

After that Grey Mountain came to New York. "For the first time—I was 24 years old—and for the first time I started reading about what had happened to my people. I guess I had known all along deep down, but I had refused to face it, and now I wanted to get something organized to fight for the rights of my people, to help them find the pride I was finding, to make the government live up to all the treaties it has broken."

Grey Mountain sees the defense of the six Indians who decorated the Roosevelt statue as an important chance to reach more Indians in the city and get them involved in a movement.

An Indian dance sponsored by DRUM will be held at the Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th St. (just off Central Park West) on July 17 to help publicize and raise funds for the defense. A \$3 donation is being asked. For more information on the case, or to send contributions, write K. Miller, 945 Teller Ave., Bronx, N.Y. 10451. (Make checks or money orders payable to Determined Redmen Unity Movement.) Messages asking the museum to drop its complaint and get rid of the statue should be sent to the museum board president, Gardner D. Stout, 150 E. 73rd St., New York, N.Y. 10021, with copies to R. Williams 113 Sullivan St. (1-A), New York, N.Y. 10012.

Interview with a Native-American activist



Photo by Jon Britton

Racist statue honoring Teddy Roosevelt in front of American Museum of Natural History daubed with paint by Indian militants June 14.

too. We want to call attention to the problems of Indians," he explained, but he said they also feel that the other oppressed national minorities "have a stake in our struggle and we have one in theirs."

Grey Mountain said he has only become active in the Indian movement in the last year or so, as a result

"All the time I was over there," Grey Mountain said of the 14 months he spent in Vietnam until he was wounded, "it didn't sit right with me." During the three months he spent in a hospital after that, he said, "I realized what it was—those people I saw pushed around, moved out of their homes and spit on by us, they looked very much

Chicago cops evict Indians from base

CHICAGO (LNS)—More than 100 Chicago cops wielding shotguns, clubs and rifles and driving heavy trucks forcibly evicted about 100 Indians living on an abandoned Nike missile base early Wednesday morning, July 1.

The Indians were awakened by the tank-like trucks ramming through the heavy cyclone fence surrounding the base. They hurled rocks and bottles at the cops, and a boat trailer was pulled across the torn main gate and set ablaze as a barrier. But the brief resistance ended when a cop fired a shotgun. Twelve Indians were arrested and there were several beatings.

The Indians had been living on the abandoned missile base since June 14.

Initially there were 20, but the number grew and the base took on a new face. The 18-year-old peeling, neglected barracks were painted, tents were erected, and a telephone was installed. All community responsibilities like cooking, security, garbage, running errands for supplies, child care, and entertainment were shared equally.

Chicago cops hassled the Indians all during their stay on the base. The second day they were there, cops threw up road blocks on the two roads leading in and out of the base, prohibiting people from coming or going. The official excuse was that people were bringing liquor onto the site and it is "illegal to bring liquor on Park District property."

Later that same day, a man on the base broke his leg and had to be taken to the hospital. Cops tried to stop the Indians from passing the barricades, but other Indians threw the barricades aside to let the car through. Later that evening, an Indian woman was beaten while walking her dog.

Chicago Indians have been involved in two other actions in the past year, both dramatizing Indian demands for better housing. In May 1970, an Indian mother, Carole Warrington, and her six children were forcibly evicted from their home by a Chicago slumlord. Carole then pitched a tent in a vacant lot near Wrigley Field. Soon

she was joined by other Indians and the Chicago Indian Village was formed. After that action, the head of the Department of Human Resources promised the Indians decent housing; nothing has happened yet.

Recently, a number of Indian families took over an old tenement in the uptown ghetto area in Chicago where there is a large Indian population. On June 13, the tenement was wiped out by fire. The Indians suspect it was set by the police.

After the Nike base bust, about 100 Indians marched into the Loop to demand a meeting with Mayor Daley to protest their eviction.

NPAC CONVENTION CALLS FOR MASSIVE ANTIWAR ACTIONS ON NOV. 6

in 42 states, representing 385 organizations in addition to 61 local Peace Action Coalitions. Thirty-five of the groups represented were trade unions; there was more participation by trade unionists than at any previous conference. More than a thousand of those attending were college students and nearly 200 were high school students. Eighty-five percent of the delegates were 29 or younger, and 24 percent were under 20.

The proposal adopted was presented by the coordinators of NPAC, and it represented a program of mass action on which there is significant agreement between NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. The two coalitions agree to jointly build Hiroshima-Nagasaki memorial actions Aug. 6-9 in cities around the country; October 13 moratoriums in as many cities as possible as a building step toward Nov. 6; and massive regional street marches and rallies in approximately a dozen cities around the country on Nov. 6. The coordinators' proposal also calls for Veterans Day actions on Oct. 25, kicking off National Peace Action Week.

Initial agreement on the common dates, subsequently endorsed by the PCPJ conference in Milwaukee and approved by the overwhelming majority at the July 2-4 convention, was reached in a series of meetings between representatives of the two coalitions initiated by Abe Feinglass of the Meat Cutters Union; Moe Foner of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union; and David Livingston, District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers.

The agreement of the two coalitions on a common calendar of actions is another factor of major significance contributing to the potential of this fall's demonstrations to be the most massive the country has ever seen.

The vote on the proposal came late in the afternoon of July 4 after two days of intensive discussion in workshops and in the plenary.

Friday evening, July 2, before the convention opened, a preconvention rally was interrupted briefly when approximately 100 members of the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society congregated in the aisles of the auditorium and attempted to shout down the scheduled speakers. In an attempt to quiet the disrupters, an SDS speaker was permitted to address the rally.

The composition of the convention was itself a sign of the new breadth of the antiwar movement since April 24. Delegates came from 197 cities

When the group continued and intensified its chanting in disregard of repeated attempts to quiet them, the convention organizers directed the marshals to remove them. On July 3, the conference voted to bar those who had created the disturbance the night before from returning to the convention. Several sporadic subsequent disruptions were effectively handled by the marshals.

During the workshops in the afternoon of July 3, members of SDS and PLP attempted to force their way back into the hall as a group, armed with bottles, bricks and clubs. After this attempt failed, no more major disruptions occurred.

Speakers at the Friday preconvention rally included Bob Mueller, a Vietnam veteran; James Lafferty, one of the NPAC coordinators; Marsha Coleman of the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition and Detroit Black Women's Liberation; Debby Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee; antiwar GI Pvt. Ed Jurenas of Ft. Greely, Alaska; Senator Vance Hartke; Victor Reuther from the United Auto Workers; David Livingston, District 65; Ruth Gage-Colby, an NPAC coordinator; Arturo Rodriguez of Colorado Raza Unida Party; and Charles Stephenson of the NPAC Third World Task Force.

Rally speakers stressed the spectacular rise in antiwar sentiment since April 24 and the prospects for united antiwar action in the fall involving literally millions of Americans in demonstrations of deep impact.

Brad Lytle, who brought greetings from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, declared that the PCPJ recognized the need for massive, peaceful, legal demonstrations.

After an initial round of debate on the 20 major proposals introduced, a straw poll indicated what had already become clear in the workshops and discussion: few proposals besides the NPAC coordinators' proposal had meaningful support from the delegates. The list of 20 was pared down to four after the straw poll.

One of the four was a proposal by the Chicago Veterans for Peace, which was in accord with the coordinators' proposal but amplified projections for Oct. 25. The other two, each of which received in the neighborhood of 100 votes, were proposals calling for strike support activity, job actions against the war, and efforts to organize independent labor political action.

In motivating the coordinators' proposal before the final vote, Jerry Gordon responded to the arguments of those who opposed the endorsement of NPAC actions by liberal politicians, the objections of those who advocate "set the date" instead of immediate withdrawal, and the perspective of those who want the antiwar movement to politically organize the working class.

Gordon said it was true that at a num-

ber of "doves" had endorsed April 24, and he commented, "Before we involved them our demand was 'Out Now!' and after we involved them our demand was 'Out Now!' That doesn't sound like a sell-out to me."

He asked if those who say the antiwar movement should call for setting a date because the Vietnamese have called for it believed that the Vietnamese would hesitate to demand immediate withdrawal if given a choice.

He said that NPAC favors job actions against the war but believes antiwar strikes will be decided by workers through their organizations, not by NPAC.

The coordinators' and Chicago veterans' proposals received 10 times the vote of the other proposals.

Before the discussion of the major proposals, there was a long debate over a presiding committee motion to commend the marshals, a workshop committee motion condemning the marshals' behavior and censuring Fred Halstead, and a motion to repudiate a statement allegedly made by Senator Hartke placing equal responsibility on PLP and SDS and Nixon for the war.

The overwhelming majority of delegates voted to commend the marshals, and a substitute motion was passed in place of the one repudiating the alleged statement by Hartke. The substitute motion stated that NPAC repudiates any statement placing responsibility for the war on anyone except Nixon and the class he represents.

After the mass action campaign was adopted, the convention heard reports from the workshops representing the different antiwar constituencies — Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, GIs, labor, students, women and gays.

Because of the press of time, reports from other workshops were referred to the coordinators and Steering Committee for action.

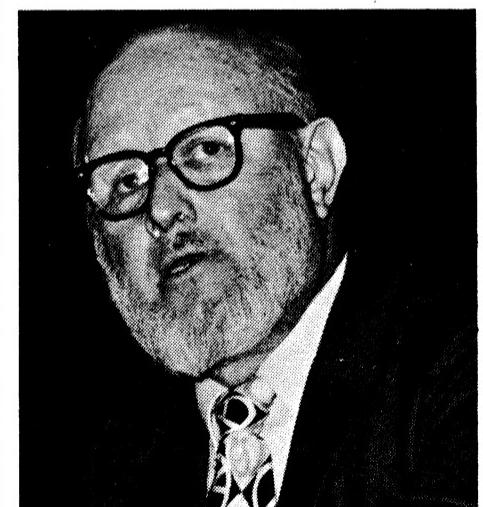


Photo by Ed Weaver
Victor Reuther of UAW International Affairs Department.

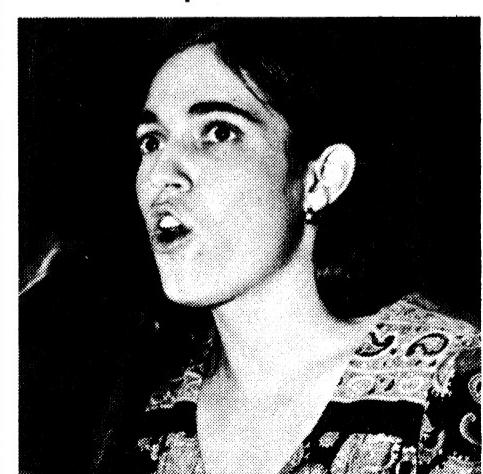


Photo by Ed Weaver
SMC National Coordinator Debby Bustin.

Workshops mapped fall campaign plans

By TONY THOMAS

The spring antiwar offensive that culminated in the April 24 mass marches was built, in part, by large contingents from different social groups: women, Chicanos, Blacks, labor, students, veterans, gays and others. One of the most important aspects of the July 2-4 NPAC conference was the series of workshops these groups held on July 3. The discussion in each workshop centered on how to build independent contingents marching under their own banners and slogans in the fall actions.

La Raza

The Raza workshop, concerned with mobilizing Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Latinos against the war, was attended by Raza activists from Colorado, Texas, New York, California, and Florida. It was convened by Arturo Rodriguez of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, Arturo Montoya of the Crystal City, Texas, Raza Unida Party, and Juan Melendez of MPI (Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) in New York.

Among the resolutions passed by the workshop, after a discussion of La Raza and the war, was one giving full support and endorsement to NPAC's projected fall actions. The workshop also called for setting up an independent Raza Task Force to coordinate the work of mobilizing La Raza around the fall offensive.

A resolution called upon NPAC to endorse the defense of Carlos Feliciano, a Puerto Rican political prisoner in New York, and also the defense of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice. Gonzales was arrested following the August 1970 Chicano Moratorium antiwar action in Los Angeles.

The workshop called on NPAC to give its solidarity and support to the Sept. 16 actions called by Raza activists. As projected at the recent Chicano Youth conference in Denver, the traditional Sept. 16 Mexican Independence celebrations will center on mobilizing La Raza against the Vietnam war.

Women

Over 200 women attended the workshop on building a women's contingent. Activists from such women's

liberation groups as the New York Women's Strike Coalition, Female Liberation in Boston, the Committee for a Women's National Abortion Coalition, and campus and gay women's groups; women from antiwar organizations such as NPAC, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; and women from political groups such as the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, International Socialists, and the Socialist Workers Party attended the workshop.

Women from IS and the New York Women's Strike Coalition proposed that NPAC support the four demands of the Women's Strike Coalition: free abortion on demand, equal pay for equal work, 24-hour community-controlled child care for all women, and freedom of sexual expression. They also felt that the women's antiwar contingents should have a broad women's liberation program rather than uniting women around opposition to the war.

Most women at the workshop rejected this, arguing that the independent women's liberation movement rather than NPAC is the vehicle to win women's demands.

Many women felt that restricting the United Women's Contingents to women who are conscious feminists would discourage the masses of women who are against the war from joining and developing a feminist consciousness through united action with their sisters.

A proposal by Kathy Keenan of Columbia U Women's Liberation; Cecily Ashton of Berkeley Female Liberation; Hannah Takeshige, Third World Women United for Legal Abortion; Carole Seidman of San Francisco Women's Ad Hoc Abortion Coalition; and Sarah Johnston of the YSA was passed. It called for organizing United Women's Contingents to build the fall offensive, and stressed the need for special women's teach-ins, speak-outs, and rallies, women speakers, and the organization of special women's contingents and buses during National Peace Action Week and the Nov. 6 rallies.

Blacks

The Black workshop endorsed the perspective of building Black participation in the fall offensive. Over 60 African-Americans from Black Moratorium Committees, Black or Third World Task Forces of the SMC and NPAC, Black Student Unions, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Young Socialist Alliance attended.

Discussion in the workshop centered on a proposal by Tony Monteiro of the YWLL that "set the date" replace immediate withdrawal as the demand of the antiwar movement. This was rejected by most of the workshop.

One sister from the Committee for a Unified Newark likened acceptance of Nixon's setting a date to white promises to Blacks of 40 acres and a mule.

The workshop also rejected a proposal by YWLL that NPAC be condemned as racist and that the antiwar movement support the program passed by PCPJ's conference.

A proposal by Jarvis Tyner, national chairman of YWLL, that NPAC circulate petitions demanding that An-

gela Davis be given immediate bail was passed unanimously by the workshop and the conference.

The proposal adopted by the workshop called for relating the war in Vietnam to the problems faced by Blacks, particularly the welfare, education, and medical cutbacks. It called on African-American antiwar activists to build participation from the Black community in the fall offensive.

Gays

A gay workshop of over 50 people had representatives from gay liberation groups from all over the country. The main discussion centered around a proposal put forward by the New York SMC Gay Task Force that gay contingents be organized as a key way of building the antiwar offensive. It was urged that gay speakers and literature be included in all efforts at building the antiwar movement.

The proposal outlined the interconnection between gay oppression and the war:

"Gay liberation aims at destroying the sex-role typing which channels people into a militaristic society. In this society, a 'real man' is one who is the best killer and rapist in Indochina. A 'real woman' is one who stays in her place, in the kitchen, taking care of children while the man does the killing . . .

"In this country, which trains us to hate ourselves and be proud of genocide and aggression in Indochina, we say that we are gay and proud and

Labor

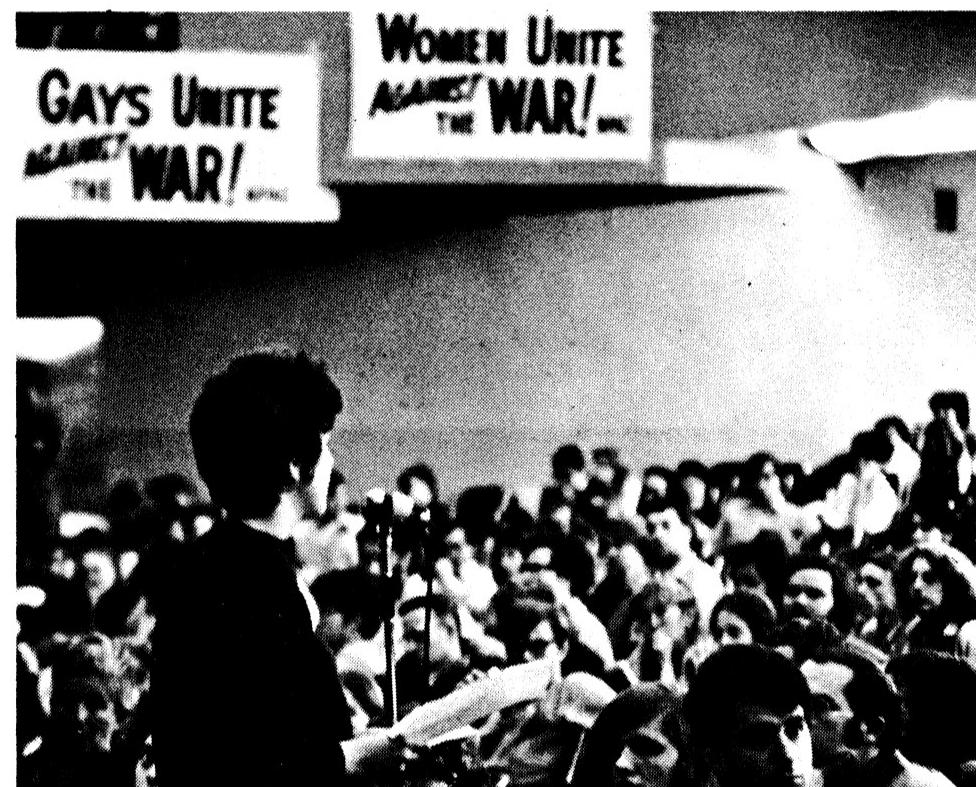
After the initial labor workshop was taken over by Labor Committee, a sectarian grouplet, most unionists and antiwar activists working with trade unions moved to another room. Most were union members, with 30 unions represented in all. Over 200 unionists attended the conference as a whole.

Among the unions represented were the United Auto Workers, AFSCME, Meat Cutters, American Federation of Teachers, Teamsters, Steelworkers, Communication Workers of America, Iron Workers, Drug and Hospital Local 1199, and the National Association of Letter Carriers.

The unionists present, both secondary officials and rank-and-file members, looked to NPAC and the antiwar movement for direction in their antiwar activities. Many expressed frustration at the lack of action on the part of top union leaders and saw mass demonstrations, labor ads, and leafletting of workers by the antiwar movement as an important way of putting pressure on union officials.

Many stated that the antiwar sentiment within their unions was high even among older white workers and in areas that could be expected to be conservative.

Among the proposals passed by the workshop was one urging that trade-union task forces be set up by NPAC and its affiliates, that antiwar referendums be organized in unions, and that antiwar resolutions be submitted to central labor councils in local areas.



Carole Seidman reporting to convention on women's workshop.

that we reject the sexist, racist war. We demand, with the majority of Americans: Out Now!"

Students

Several student workshops were held, totaling over 250 participants. Students came from SMC chapters all over the country, as well as from YWLL, International Socialists, SDS, and YSA.

The workshop passed a proposal submitted by Duane Draper, president of the Associated Student Governments; Debby Bustin, national coordinator of SMC; and Geoff Morelowitz of Chicago High School SMC for strikes and walkouts on Wednesday, Nov. 3, on the nation's campuses and for support to the fall offensive.

The high school workshop outlined a proposal linking the struggle for high school, junior high school and elementary school political organizing rights with the struggle for immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The workshop called for referendums in schools across the country on 1) the right of students to organize politically, to form groups, to leaflet, etc., and 2) the question of immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia."

The workshop discussed the NPAC proposal for mass actions on Nov. 6 and felt this was the way thousands of workers could be organized and that this was the way more trade-union officials could be pressured to help mobilize the ranks against the war.

GIs and veterans

The GI and veterans workshop mapped out a series of proposals to follow up on the dramatic work done by Vietnam Veterans Against the War in building April 24. Representatives from local GI and veterans' peace groups from all over the country attended.

The workshop adopted the NPAC coordinators' proposal, with the addition that Veterans Day, Oct. 25, be taken over by the antiwar movement by building "peace contingents" in local Veterans Day parades.

Taken together, the strength of the different workshops demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of American people can be united around the demand "Out Now!" The workshop reports, all of which were adopted by the convention, provided a sure guarantee that masses of Americans will be involved in building the fall antiwar offensive.



B.R. Washington reporting on Black workshop.

PL-SDS fails to break up NPAC gathering

By HARRY RING

NEW YORK—A significant feature of the recently concluded NPAC convention was the decisive way it repulsed the efforts of the Progressive Labor Party to physically disrupt the gathering and prevent it from carrying through its business.

NPAC was able to prepare for the attack that occurred because PLP and its "SDS" brazenly made public in advance their intention to carry through an organized hooligan effort to disrupt the convention.

Several public meetings were held by PLP-SDS in Boston, where the group has its main base. There, efforts were made to recruit a contingent to come to New York for the express purpose of preventing certain invited speakers at the slated NPAC conference from being heard.

Initially, the two speakers selected as PL targets were Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), a leading senatorial critic of the war, and Victor Reuther, international affairs director of the United Auto Workers. Then, David Livingston, president of District 65 of the United Distributive Workers, was added to PL's "verboten" list.

Leaflets were distributed by PL-SDS in New York urging people to attend the convention to prevent these people from speaking.

One leaflet, asserting that Hartke did not have the right to speak because he is a liberal capitalist politician, urged people to attend the convention and "SHOUT HIM DOWN!"

Another leaflet declared in part: "Hartke and Reuther shouldn't be allowed to speak at all. These guys will scream freedom of speech: but there should be no freedom to speak for people who ride the coattail of the antiwar movement for their own personal gain."

A leaflet passed out at the convention the night of the opening rally included a proposed list of chants to be used while the speakers deemed objectionable by PL were on the platform. The concluding suggested chant was:

"OFF HARTKE, OFF REUTHER, ETC."

This ominous rhetoric was escalated in still another Progressive Labor Party leaflet, which declared:

"Working people in this country will fight until every creep that NPAC builds, and the NPAC leaders themselves, are either behind bars or buried."

Long record

Such rhetoric cannot be dismissed as simply the mouthings of mindless fools. The Progressive Labor Party has too long a record of hooligan violence against political opponents within the movement. Those who were in SDS during the faction struggle that saw the demise of that organization know well PL's penchant for physical solutions to political problems.

There was the case in 1969 of Dave Kemnitzer, a San Francisco anti-PL SDSer who charged he was beaten in

his home by PL goons. The PL paper *Challenge* carried a sardonic semi-acknowledgement.

In 1967 in San Francisco, *Militant* salespeople were attacked by goons at a PL-run open-air rally.

In New York in 1967, when PL initiated a factionally competitive petition to a Peace Parade Committee antiwar referendum petition, PLers set upon a group of Parade Committee petitioners and threatened others.

Last spring, in Boston, they attempted to disrupt an SMC steering committee meeting, were ejected from the hall and returned in force for a two-hour pitched battle, which resulted in one antiwar activist partially losing sight in one eye.

When the auditorium doors were opened for the NPAC rally, about a hundred PL partisans were among the first to march in. They immediately attempted to seize the stage but were moved off it by a contingent of marshals. The marshals included members of District 65, other unionists, and volunteers from the NPAC conference.

Despite continuous unruliness and disruption, the PLers were permitted to remain in the hall as the rally progressed. At one point in the proceedings, in an extreme effort to placate the group, they were given a speaker on the platform.

When it came Hartke's turn to address the rally, the PLers seemed near berserk in their efforts to prevent him from being heard. Led by two people with electronically amplified bullhorns, they chanted, screamed and cursed. Despite the tumult, Hartke completed his address as the rest of the audience sat quietly and tried to hear him above the din.

Then, later, when Victor Reuther was introduced, the PLers apparently decided to make a last-ditch effort to prevent him from speaking and their frenzy reached a new pitch.

Disrupters removed

It was then that the NPAC coordinators decided that it would be impossible to continue the rally if the disruption was permitted to continue. The marshals were instructed to remove the offenders from the hall.

In a remarkable display of disciplined restraint, the marshals, several hundred strong, proceeded to take the screaming, biting, kicking disrupters out. The remainder of the audience displayed equally impressive discipline, mostly remaining seated as the hooligans were being removed. It is really quite unusual to see a hundred determined disrupters removed from a meeting without serious injury to anyone, and with the entire process carried through in such a way that the meeting is able to continue. The atmosphere of discipline was such that the city police had no pretext to enter the building.

This was possible for several reasons. The marshals had been carefully briefed in advance, with a strong emphasis on the need to use only the absolute minimal force necessary to deal with disrupters. They largely succeeded in doing this despite the extreme provocation of the PLers. The marshals even restrained themselves when, as they reached the doors, a number of the evicted PLers sprayed

them with cans of mace.

The eviction of the disrupters without bringing the meeting to an end was also possible because by the time marshals did act, it was entirely plain to the audience where the responsibility lay and why the action was necessary.

After the rally, a meeting of the NPAC Steering Committee voted unanimously that those who had disrupted the meeting not be permitted to return for the next day's session.

In adopting the motion, the committee emphasized that the issue of political exclusion was in no way involved and that people were to be kept out only on the basis of their disruptive activity and no one was to be excluded on the basis of their political views and association. In fact, a number of PL-SDSers were permitted in the next day and freely distributed their literature. They participated in the convention discussion, where they sought to defend PL's conduct and persuade the convention to reverse the decision to keep the disrupters out. However, a motion to endorse the Steering Committee decision was approved by the overwhelming majority.

That afternoon, the PLers massed outside the convention door and

and to condemn the marshals for use of alleged undue force in removing the disrupters. The effect of the resolution would have been to deny NPAC the right to hold its convention.

The resolution singled out Fred Halstead, who had participated actively in the marshaling for special censure. Halstead, the 1968 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, has served as chief marshal at several major New York and national antiwar demonstrations.

This motion was introduced by a member of the Quaker Action Project on behalf of a workshop held the previous evening by members of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Responding to this motion, the convention presiding committee offered a motion commending the marshals for an extremely difficult job well done.

The only open backers of the PCPJ workshop motion were some supporters of that group.

Since members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party were among those who participated actively in the marshaling, several of the various political sects attending the conference permitted blind factional animosity to influence their judgment in the matter, and they refrained from supporting the clearly justified presiding committee motion commending the marshals. The only one of these groups that supported the motion and offered to help with defense of the meeting was the Workers League.

Members of the Spartacist League actually joined with the PLers in the disruption and were evicted with them. The National Caucus of Labor Committees and International Socialists took evasive positions.



Photo by Howard Petrick

PL-SDS hooligans attempting to disrupt convention on opening night.

sought to storm their way in, hurling rocks and bottles at the marshals assembled at the entrance. Two marshals were hit, requiring stitches for facial cuts, but none were seriously injured. The attack was successfully repulsed and the doors closed. Police then appeared and forcibly dispersed the PLers from the street.

On Sunday morning, the PLers reportedly held a caucus meeting and after a debate decided it was futile to again storm the meeting, and they limited themselves to picketing in front. A few gained admission, but there were only minor incidents during the final day's session.

Marshals commended

Most of the convention participants were elated that so difficult a provocation had been so well handled and were somewhat astonished when a resolution was introduced at the opening of the Sunday session proposing to criticize PL for its behavior

Some supporters of PCPJ sought to indicate their disagreement with the workshop motion. One speaker, Julius Margolin, a New York unionist, declared that while he disapproved of the way the conference was being run, he recognized the need for NPAC to defend its right to hold a meeting and supported the motion to commend the marshals.

Ed Block, a representative of the United Electrical Workers, declared that as a unionist, he recognized the need for self-defense. "We should commend the marshals for what they did", he declared. "I think they acted with extreme restraint."

NPAC coordinators Jerry Gordon and Ruth Gage-Colby spoke vigorously in support of the motion to commend the marshals, as did Dan Siegel, a member of the presiding committee.

The PCPJ motion received only a scattering of votes, and the motion to commend the marshals was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Siegel: 'No excuse for PL's conduct'

The following remarks in support of the motion to commend the NPAC marshals were made by Dan Siegel, who was a member of the convention presiding committee. A long-time Berkeley student activist, Siegel is former president of the University of California student government at Berkeley.

I want to speak to the people from the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice who join in the motion on behalf of the sanctimonious members of the Progressive Labor Party to condemn the way this convention has been run.

No one who was here Friday night could possibly in any way excuse the conduct of the Progressive Labor Party.

I didn't invite Vance Hartke here to speak, and if I was making up the agenda for this convention, I wouldn't have. But one thing I also wouldn't do, if he was invited to speak, would be to come in here and throughout his 10-minute speech stamp and curse and yell and shake my fists and bring in sound equipment and use it to try to drown him out.

And that's despite the fact that before he spoke, this convention democratically voted by better than three-to-one—perhaps four-to-one—that Hartke should speak. And then the Progressive Labor Party decided they would shout him down.

Despite all that, we decided, with great restraint on behalf of the coordinating committee—"OK, let it go on, let's not have violence. Let them talk, let them scream like babies." And we let them do it.

They spoke, they yelled, they screamed throughout Hartke's speech, and Hartke sat down. Then we had a few more speakers. I should mention also that Progressive Labor demanded a speaker, and they got a speaker, even before Hartke. And then, finally, three speakers later, Victor Reuther got up, and they again did the same thing.

They shouted him down. They again started with their portable sound equipment. And at that time we decided it was time to move them

out of here and that was exactly what we did. That was the only thing we could have done to keep this convention moving, to plan fall actions, to have any kind of an antiwar movement.

And when we did decide to move them out, what did they do?

When we took them by the arm and attempted to move them out of this room, they kicked, they punched, they bit, they cursed. When they got to the door they took out mace and they started to mace us! The Progressive Labor Party, those sanctimonious people who now ask to be brought back into the convention, brought out mace cans.

Now anybody who can excuse that conduct and say let's bring them back in, anybody who can condemn the people who have marshalled this convention, and can pick out Fred Halstead, is clearly not in accord with any sense of reality. But in addition to that, if you say that, you are saying that the Progressive Labor Party has a right to come in and ruin conventions like this.

People who condemn the marshalling of this convention—which was as peaceable but as firm as it should have been and could have been—are clearly not in accord with what we're trying to do.

We have to remember that this fall will be the crucial time in the battle to end this war, and unless we can conduct our convention peacefully, unless we can plan actions to bring out the largest number of people into the streets ever—unless we can do that in peace, unless we can do that without the threat of disruption, unless we can do that without violence from the Progressive Labor Party, then what we'll have is an antiwar movement of 50 people that can't attract the masses.

I say we should commend the marshals, and there should be no condemnations of Fred Halstead or anyone else!

Halstead: The right to free speech

The following are major excerpts from the remarks by Fred Halstead during the debate on the ouster of PL-SDS disrupters from the NPAC convention. The point was made before that we should get off this "nonpolitical" discussion and get on to something else. I agree that it's very important to get on to the main business of the conven-

tion, which is of course to make plans for the most massive fall action against the war that this country has ever seen.

But this is not exactly a nonpolitical point. There's a history to marshalling in the peace movement, and it's a history in which I have been intimately involved from the very beginning.

At first, when we started massive marches back in 1965, we were attacked by right-wingers on the routes of those marches. And we had disputes within the movement about how we should handle that. One of the big problems was that, often as not, the police standing on the sidelines would side with the right-wingers and the movement was completely defenseless. We had to organize marshals, not to engage in a physical fight, but to line up between the attackers and the marchers in order to keep the march going by so that it could proceed with a minimum of disruption.

Then, later on there came a development where people who said they were within the movement began to insist on tactics that had not been adopted by the organizations and the conferences that called particular events. They insisted on carrying out other tactics and imposing those on a much larger group—the vast majority of whom did not want to engage in that particular tactic.

We're all aware of that and many of us united in order to give the people who came together to democratically decide on a tactic the right to carry out that tactic and not to have another one imposed on them. . . .

Let me come to the more important question that was raised, the question of whether people have the right to have free speech, even to have a meeting, to gather together in a meeting without it being disrupted. We decided we were going to defend that right. And we've had to do it many times and in many ways. And when we defend that right, we are defending the right of everybody to have a meeting. . . .

Now, on what actually happened. There's a little stuff going on here, which I don't exactly appreciate, from some people I call friends—some of the people who might have been in that workshop—who, as Malcolm used to say, are turning the criminal into the victim and the victim into the criminal. We had people coming in here who passed out leaflets saying that their purpose was to destroy the meeting and not to allow us the right to listen to people whom we invited. All of you saw the leaflets that were passed out.

And then they proceeded to do that. So the question came up of whether we were going to allow the meeting to be completely disrupted. For the first time, we had a major leader of a major trade union speak before a

major antiwar conference. Were we going to let it be impossible for that to take place? We decided no.

Yes, I led the move to begin the removal of the disrupters from the hall. And I did it for a reason. I wanted to do it in a certain way. I know a lot about this. I know a lot about other things too. There were a lot of trade unionists in the meeting that night.

I've been in that game too. I'm still in it. . . . I've had to defend picket lines and it's done in a certain way. And I know how to do that. I can hit somebody if I have to. I don't like to; it makes my stomach turn. But I can do it if I have to. I can also remove somebody without hurting them. And that's the way I wanted it done, so I began to do it so I could make sure that insofar as it was possible, that would be the procedure that was used. And I am overwhelmed with joy at the fact that by and large that was the way it happened, and it came off without any significant injuries to people.

Now I submit to you: Suppose this had been a Steelworkers' convention or a Garment Workers' convention, or a Longshoremen's convention, and any group had tried that. Where would they be? What would have happened? NPAC can be immensely proud of its democracy. Look at the literature tables. Anybody can pass out their literature. Anybody is free to come in and take the floor. And when this procedure was discussed in the Steering Committee, I personally took the floor and said that it must be crystal clear that we are not excluding any tendency or group—even SDS. We are only excluding people who are recognized to have disrupted. And that's the way it is, and that's the way it's going to be, because it is a nonexclusive movement. . . .

Now let's get on with the central business of this convention, which is to hammer home on the need to end this war and build the most massive and united action this fall that the movement has ever seen.



Photo by Howard Petrick
James Lafferty, NPAC coordinator, at Friday night rally.

REACH OUT TO GIs! SIGN UP HERE

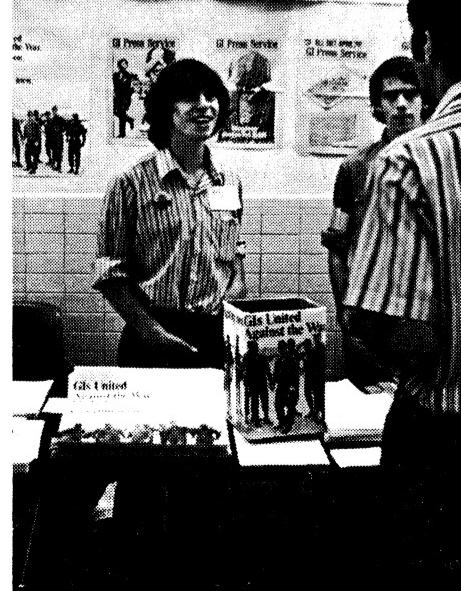


Photo by Brian Shannon
GI Press Service literature table.

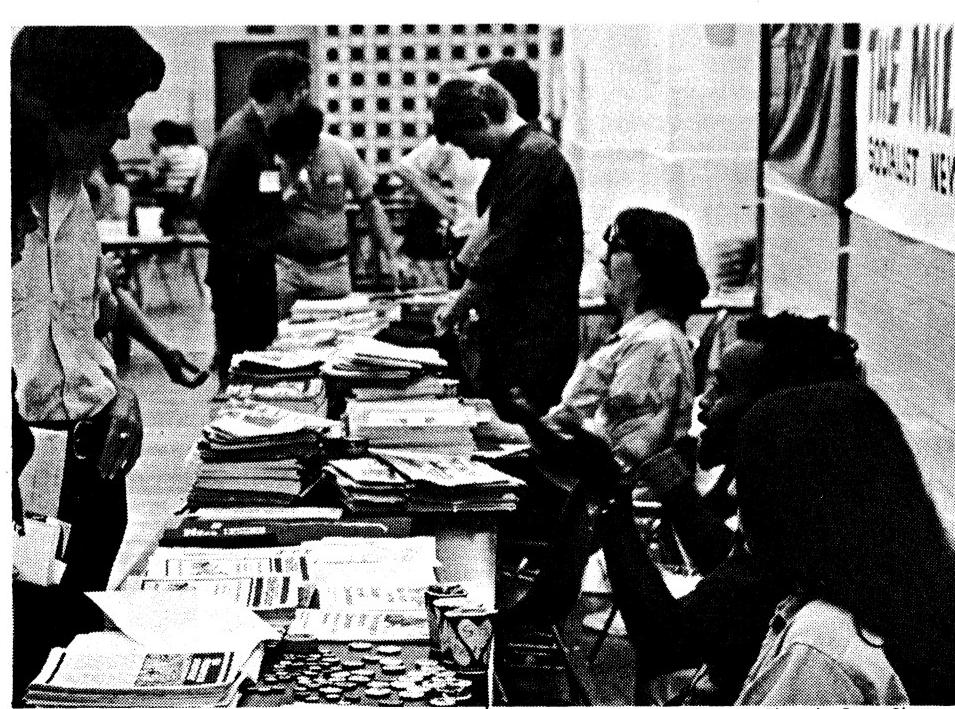


Photo by Brian Shannon
Sales were brisk at YSA literature table. Salespersons at conference sold 550 Militants and 110 ISRs in addition to other literature.

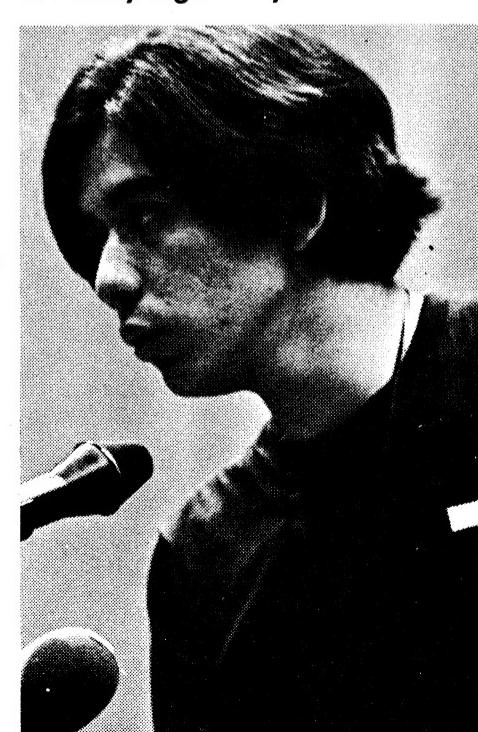


Photo by Howard Petrick
Arturo Rodriguez from Colorado Raza Unida Party addressing opening rally.

China offers guns to Ceylon

From Intercontinental Press

On June 17 the Bandaranaike regime declassified "top secret" documents providing further evidence of the lengths to which the Mao regime has gone in backing the effort to crush the rebellion in Ceylon.

An opposition speaker in the Ceylon Senate had charged that the recent loan granted by the Chinese government to Ceylon was "conscience money," presumably to compensate for stirring up the rebellion or for providing it with material aid.

Chelliah Kumarasurier, the minister of posts and telecommunications, responded by stating that he had been given permission by Bandaranaike to read out some "top secret" documents. The June 24 *Ceylon News* gave the following account of the revelations:

"Mr. Kumarasurier read out a telex message sent by Ceylon's Ambassador in China on 5-1-71 saying that he had read newspaper reports of the refusal of the World Bank and the IMF on the loan taken, and that it was possible to obtain substantial aid from China in view of the excellent relations existing between the two countries. He also read further messages that passed between the Ceylon Government and the Ceylon Embassy in this connection."



Mao Tse-tung

David Levine

"He then read a letter sent by Ceylon's Ambassador on a talk he had with the Chinese Prime Minister [Chou En-lai].

"In his letter the Ambassador had said that the Chinese Prime Minister was highly worried and concerned about the developments in Ceylon, especially with regard to suspicions that Chinese arms were being smuggled in crates that were delivered at the construction site of the Bandaranaike Memorial Hall.

"The Chinese Prime Minister had also said that the Che Guevara movement was a new movement which China disapproved of. He had described it as a counter revolutionary movement aimed at deceiving the masses and disrupting the Government. China, he had said, disapproved of the theories of Che Guevara.

"Mr. Chou En-lai had also referred to the expulsion of two CIA agents from Ceylon, and said that the CIA was adopting new tactics of ultra leftism. He had described the Che Guevara movement as a counter revolutionary movement and expressed surprise how a left govern-

ment in Ceylon could be attacked by counter revolutionaries. He had also said that China had had good relations with the governments of Mr. and Mrs. Bandaranaike.

"The Chinese Prime Minister had also expressed regret that China was unable to provide military aid to Ceylon as Chinese ships carrying arms to Tanzania had left Colombo before Ceylon's request was made. Mr. Chou En-lai had said that China could give both financial and military aid to the Ceylon Government. The Chinese Premier in conclusion had promised wholehearted support to the Ceylon Government, saying, 'Whom else can we support in Ceylon except the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike?'

More on killings in Iran

From Intercontinental Press

As reported in the June 25 issue of *The Militant*, six members of the group of nine alleged to have assassinated General Ziaddin Farsiou have been either killed or captured, according to communiques issued by the police in Teheran.

Eskandar Sadegi-Nejad, Rahmatollah Peyronaziri, and Ameer Parviz Poyan were killed in two separate gun battles in Teheran on May 24. Javad Salahi was killed six weeks earlier.

In the gun battles, the police said they had wounded and captured two more members of the group, but did not reveal their names. Five policemen were wounded in the alleged shoot-outs.

The accounts, as we noted, contained discrepancies.

The Teheran daily *Keyhan* of June 1 contains further details. According to the latest police account, Pouyan and Peyronaziri were in hiding. The police surrounded the house and killed them, after the two "started shooting."

Later in the day (May 24), the police spotted Sadegi-Nejad and two of his comrades as they started to move furniture into an apartment, their new hiding place. They killed Sadegi-Nejad, again in a "shoot-out."

To believe the police, there were thus two separate gun battles.

The London *Times*, in a dispatch from Teheran dated May 25, nevertheless reported that the three were killed after a 10-hour gun battle. The *Times* also mentions another version, according to which two of the victims may have committed suicide.

The police claim to have captured a few more "outlaws," including two women whose names were not revealed. Of the five wounded policemen, one has reportedly died.



Shah of Iran

The nine, sought since March by the police, are charged with having assassinated General Farsiou, a notorious military prosecutor of political opponents of the shah; with having fatally wounded a policeman to get his weapon; and with having held up a bank and stolen \$80,000.

Meanwhile, the shah is busy with preparations for celebrating 2,500 years under the Persian monarchy.

The Iranian press reports that as a result of publicity abroad, a street in Rome will be named after Cyrus the Great. Giuseppe Saragat, the president of Italy, sent a message stating that the reign of Cyrus the Great was a turning point in the history of humanity.

Naturally. And so was the discovery of oil.

strikes and demonstrations, will inevitably come to the fore. As it becomes clearer to Israeli workers that their interests are not the same as the Israeli rulers', many will begin to realize that their closest ally in the struggle against exploitation is the Palestinian resistance movement fighting to destroy the expansionist Zionist state.

Soviet dissidents released

From Intercontinental Press

Two recent developments involving prominent Soviet dissidents raise the question of whether the Brezhnev regime feels compelled to make some concessions in the direction of the opposition movement.

In one, Ivan Yakhimovich, the former collective farm chairman and leading dissident Communist, was reported freed on May 3 after more than two years imprisonment in a "special" psychiatric prison. Beyond the report that he was allowed to leave the institution in Riga, Latvia, and rejoin his wife and three daughters, there has been no information as to the reasons for his release or the conditions placed upon his freedom.

In the other development, on June 9 the writer Andrei Sinyavsky was reported released from a penal labor camp in Mordovia more than a year before completion of his seven-year sentence. Sinyavsky was tried in early 1966, along with Yuli Daniel—both had published anti-Stalinist satires abroad under pseudonyms and were therefore found guilty of "anti-Soviet propaganda."

The Sinyavsky-Daniel trial marked the opening of the current phase in Soviet political life, where political trials and intensified police persecution have gone side by side with intensified protests and struggles in behalf of democratic rights, civil liberties, and national dignity.

In Sinyavsky's case, there is somewhat more information about the circumstances he finds himself in, but no more than in Yakhimovich's about what prompted the authorities' "leniency." There were reports he was released early on account of "good behavior"; but the bureaucratic bosses have rarely let that kind of consideration alone influence them in regard to political offenders, especially with one like Sinyavsky who has never recanted his views or acknowledged the charge of "anti-Sovietism."

In effect, Sinyavsky is still serving time. He is barred from residing in Moscow or any other major city. According to a June 9 UPI dispatch, he was permitted to stay in a Moscow suburb temporarily while arranging his personal affairs, but "will soon be required to move to another city."

His fellow defendant Daniel, released in September 1970 after completing five years imprisonment, is likewise in enforced exile—living in Kaluga, some one hundred miles south of Moscow.

In attempting to assess the significance of the release of these two men, the extreme dearth of information on the circumstances surrounding these moves and the absence of any comment by themselves, by other dissidents, or even by the Stalinist authorities, dictate caution. Moreover, the recent pattern of the regime's policies toward dissidents has been contradictory, not showing a clear trend either toward relaxation or toward all-out suppression.

Denver Chicano conference reflected a growing movement

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

DENVER—The Third National Chicano Liberation Conference, held here June 17-20, resulted in a series of important political discussions, resolutions and projections for action in the fall.

New indications of the potential of the rising Chicano movement to alter the complexion of American political life provided the objective framework for the conference. A recently released study, for example, shows how the outcome of the 1972 presidential elections could be decided by Chicano voters in Four states. Another such indication is the recent call by Bert Corona, former president of the Mexican-American Political Association, for MAPA to "join our youth, students, militants and *'pueblo'* (people) in general" to establish our own political party—La Raza Unida."

La Raza Unida Party

The conference workshop on La Raza Unida Party (LRUP) discussed the rapid spread of independent Chicano political parties in Texas, Colorado, Arizona and California, and reaffirmed the call from the 1970 conference for the establishment of "an independent La Raza Unida political party with the Plan of Aztlan as the basic platform."

The workshop added the statement that "under no conditions will we support the Democratic or Republican parties." It was also decided that candidates of La Raza Unida Party would run only as candidates of that party, and that La Raza Unida Party would endorse only candidates running under its banner.

Although coalitions with other oppressed sections of the population were seen as important, participants agreed that meaningful coalitions first required the building of a strong Raza Unida Party.

In reaffirming the plan of Aztlan as the basic program to which all candidates of LRUP must adhere, the workshop emphasized once again, as in 1970, that "This party will not be concerned merely with elections, but will work every day with and for the welfare and needs of our people . . ."

This concept of an independent Chicano party that fights 365 days a year for Chicano control of the Chicano community, including mobilization of La Raza in militant mass action in the streets, contrasts sharply with the view of the reformists within the Chicano movement, who want



Chicano moratorium in Los Angeles, Aug. 29, 1970

LRUP to serve as a mere pressure group on the Democratic Party to get token concessions.

Another important decision of the LRUP workshop was to issue a call for a national conference of all LRUP chapters and all those interested in building Raza Unida parties in their areas to discuss the formation of a national Chicano party. The date was set for the Thanksgiving weekend in November. Locations suggested included Pueblo, Colo., and Crystal City, Texas. A planning meeting is set for July 31 in Denver.

The November conference will take up the question of the 1972 elections and how best to deal with the deceit and lies of the two capitalist parties in the coming year. With the deepening radicalization in the Chicano community and the widespread popularity of La Raza Unida parties, the November conference could prove to be of historic importance.

Part of the Chicano Liberation Conference was attended by Jose Angel Gutierrez, well-known for his leadership in the first electoral victories of La Raza Unida Party in the Crystal City area of South Texas. He addressed the gathering on the need to build Raza Unida parties in opposition to the Democrats and Republicans.

Fall antiwar actions

The conference's antidraft and antiwar workshop issued a call for antiwar actions in the fall. Participants agreed that the theme of *El 16 de septiembre*, Mexican Independence Day, should be opposition to the war in Indochina and the drafting of Chicano youth, and that Chicano moratoriums to "Bring Our Carnales Home" be organized

wherever possible. The workshop also projected reaching out to Chicano GIs.

Fruitful workshop discussions were also held on the Chicano student movement and on Chicano schools, such as the Tlatelolco Field Study Center in Denver and the Jacinto Treviño Learning Center in South Texas. The student movement workshop discussed problems that have arisen in many college and university Chicano studies programs.

One such problem is that power over programs and policies within the departments has been passing out of the hands of students and into the control of Chicano administrators, who in many cases have been "bought" by the university, government or foundation money that has flowed into these departments.

Participating in the workshop was Richard Garcia, recently fired from the Chicano studies faculty at San Diego State College because of his forthright stand for student control of the department and because of his revolutionary-socialist views. Similar experiences were discussed by students from Boulder, Colo., San Jose State, and San Diego State College.

Student control of Chicano studies

The student workshop resolved that "All decision-making power in Chicano studies programs should be in the hands of Chicano students" and that "all Chicano studies faculty and students have the right to express their political views without fear of reprisals or of being fired." The right of Chicano students to hire, fire and retain Chicano faculty or administrators was specifically affirmed.

This workshop and the one on Chicano schools jointly issued a call for a national Chicano student conference this fall, to be coordinated with the La Raza Unida Party conference. A major aim of the conference will be to amend *El Plan de Santa Barbara*, which has served as a guide for Chicano studies programs. Though the plan has many positive features, the workshop felt that it leaves the door open for bureaucratic control of programs by administrators and faculty.

Raza prisoners

The *pinta* (jail) workshop discussed the rising movement among Raza prisoners and decided "to support the establishment of a union for Chicanos and Chicanas in *Las Pintas*." Such an organization would "have the right to

hold meetings, collect dues, and insure basic human rights." Educational conferences inside prisons and demonstrations "in support of the struggle of the *pintos* and *pintas* (male and female prisoners) were called for Sept. 24.

Activists reported that in a number of areas Chicano student organizations are working with Chicano prisoners and ex-prisoners. They raised concrete demands such as "the creation of employment agencies for Chicanos coming out of jail and for open admissions to colleges for inmates, with no strings attached."

Alicia Escalante of Los Angeles, a welfare rights activist, chaired the welfare rights workshop and called for the formation of a national Chicano welfare rights organization.

A workshop called *La Mujer, la Familia y el Movimiento* (the Woman, the Family and the Movement) was prevented from discussing the special problems, needs and aspirations of Raza women, by men who dominated the discussion. This was in sharp contrast to the recent Chicana conference in Houston, where such discussion took place.

Other workshops discussed Chicano control of the Chicano community, the farm workers, the land issue, the problem of drugs, and the production of Chicano newspapers.

Red-baiting

In most of the workshops, a free and fruitful discussion took place. However, an unfortunate incident occurred at the beginning of the workshop discussion on La Raza

Unida Party when one of the chairmen, Al Gurule, 1970 LRUP candidate for governor of Colorado, lumped "communists and socialists" in with the Democratic and Republican parties and singled out the Socialist Workers Party for attack. He warned the Chicano movement to be wary of those who "attempt to lead us astray for their own ends." He said that La Raza has to be independent of all "gringo-controlled parties and groups."

In response to these remarks, Raza members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance urged that all attempts to exclude revolutionary socialists from the Chicano movement be repudiated. They pointed out that both the SWP and YSA fully supported building a mass Chicano party independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Such a party should be by Raza, for Raza and organized along nationalist lines.

"We are Chicano nationalists and revolutionary socialists, and there is no contradiction between the two," said Manuel "Tank" Barrera, a Young Socialist from Houston. "I was born a Chicano and no one can ever take that away from me. But I am also a socialist."

The Raza socialists explained that the Chicano movement must reject red-baiting (that is, attacking people for their organizational affiliation and playing on the reactionary prejudices many people have against socialism) or face the prospect of seriously dividing and weakening the movement.

They pointed out that anticomunism is one of the most potent tools used by the capitalist ruling class to oppress our brothers and sisters in Asia and Latin America, and that reinforcing the prejudices many of our people have against socialism is no way to free our people from the grip of gringo capitalist ideology.

Only if the Raza Unida parties remain open to all of La Raza who support their basic goals and programs, they said, can we build a viable mass party that can effectively struggle for control of our own communities, for the liberation of La Raza.

Despite this red-baiting attack, the general mood of the LRUP workshop was one of Raza unity, with the understanding that the enemies of the Chicano people are

the Democrats and Republicans and not the revolutionary socialists. Most of the participants in the workshop seemed not to agree with Gurule's attack. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, spoke on the need for unity and for bringing together Chicanos of many different political ideologies.

The conference ended with a dramatic candlelight march from several parks in the Chicano community to the state capitol here. Some 400 to 500 marchers and supporters heard workshop resolutions read and to the shouts of "Chicano Power!" and Viva Che!, witnessed the symbolic posting of the Plan of Aztlán on the capitol door.

"Cultural renaissance"

In his keynote speech at the beginning of the conference, Corky Gonzales explained that a cultural renaissance was an essential part of uplifting and organizing La Raza. Among the cultural performances put on during the conference was the Ballet Chicano de Aztlán. This folk ballet was performed at last year's conference and has now grown to some 80 dancers and a singing group. All of the dancers are students at Tlatelolco, LRUP activists, and part of the rising leadership of the Crusade for Justice. As they put it, "The main purpose for the Ballet Chicano is not to dance or earn money for our own benefit, but to educate La Raza to the beauty of our own culture, *La Cultura de la Raza*. . . . We are also a coro (singing group) and a teatro (theater), all of La Cruzada, and all a part of the Chicano movement for liberation."

CHICANO LIBERATION AND REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

by Mirta Vidal 25c

Pathfinder Press 410 West Street New York 10014

¡La Raza en Acción!

In one of the most dramatic displays of anger and frustration in recent years, the Chicano community of Albuquerque, N.M., erupted in a series of spontaneous rebellions in early June.

Albuquerque is a city of 250,000. One-third of the population is Chicano. A job study recently released by the University of New Mexico Bureau of Business Research showed unemployment at a record high of 6.9 percent in the state. Similar statistics reveal an extremely low average wage and a high poverty level, which means very oppressive conditions for La Raza.

Albuquerque is also the city where the movement to regain stolen land—the Alianza Federal de los Pueblos Libres, led by Reies Lopez Tijerina—has been based.

The incidents began on Sunday, June 13, when cops began harassing a crowd of Chicanos gathered at Roosevelt Park, on the edge of the Chicano community. Although details differ in the various reports, it is clear that the trouble started with the unjustified arrest of several Chicano youths.

Cops began the arrests when a frisbee accidentally hit a cop car parked nearby. A crowd began to gather and tensions grew. In response to provocations, the angered crowd hurled some other objects at the cops, who had come well prepared and proceeded to spray mace and tear gas on the Chicano youths. As they drove off to the police station, several hundred youths marched behind them in protest.

As the community joined in, a spontaneous rebellion of major proportions ensued. Cars were overturned, buildings were set on fire, city hall was fire-bombed and several downtown businesses were burned and looted. The resulting damage was estimated at more than \$1-million.

The second day, June 14, the frightened city administration decided their own police force was insufficient and called in over 1,000 National Guardsmen.

For several months, the Black Berets, a Chicano youth group, have been demanding the formation of a civilian-police review board to investigate police brutality in the city.

The second evening, following a rally called by the Black Berets, pent-up frustrations erupted into spontaneous demonstrations. More than 600 were arrested during the weekend and some 15 people were injured by police gunfire.

These explosions are hardly surprising in a city which, even the *New York Times* admits, "was once 100 percent Indian, Mexican and Spanish," and is now controlled by a racist Anglo administration. Yet Governor Bruce King, a Democrat, claims that "hippies" and outside agitators were responsible for the trouble, and has named a special committee to "seek the answers."

But the "answers" to this powerful expression of rising combativity among La Raza is more accurately reflected in a statement issued by the Alianza regarding these events:

"The 123 years of racism and oppression in New Mexico of the Indo-Hispano by the Anglo since the signing of the treaty [of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the U.S. war with Mexico] is coming to the fore."

"Slave Trade Flourishes Throughout Southwest," reads a headline in the June 20 *Denver Post*.

That adequately describes the atrocious reality for thousands of Mexican citizens who cross the border each year in search of work.

The abuse of laborers who enter the U.S. from Mexico has reached such scandalous proportions that a congressional subcommittee decided to hold hearings on the question.

The hearings, held on June 24 and 25 in Denver, exposed one of the crudest forms of exploitation of human beings known to the twentieth century.

According to the *Denver Post*, the number of arrests of persons entering the U.S. illegally has increased tenfold in the past 10 years, from 27,958 in 1961 to 266,361 last year. The number of arrests are an indication of the magnitude of this traffic.

"Many of them are bought and sold, herded and housed like cattle, blackmailed and cheated," says the *Post*.

These thousands of men and women, whom both the subcommittee and the *Post* call "wetbacks," are forced to put their lives in the hands of virtual slave traders who bring them across the border with the promise of finding them work. Once they arrive and find work, most of their substandard wages must go to paying off their "smugglers," who control them with the threat of deportation.

The hearings also revealed that the traffic in human labor is not only profitable for the smugglers but also for the gringo farmers. After illegal residents have worked for a period of time, the employer often simply reports them to the Border Patrol, saving himself the expense of paying the wages due.

To add insult to injury, another article printed around the same time claimed that "wetbacks" are also responsible for the marijuana traffic from Mexico to the U.S.!

Las Hijas de Cuahemoc, a Chicana newspaper, is a clear sign that Chicanas are beginning to organize into an effective new force in the struggle for Chicano liberation.

The first issue to be published includes a history of *La Mexicana*, several poems by Chicanas, and a number of other articles relevant to Raza women.

Its purpose, explains a brief article in the newspaper, "is to encourage all Chicanas to begin to express their ideas in as many ways as possible. . . . It shall publish all literature about Chicanas, by Chicanas."

Subscriptions, which cost \$3, can be obtained by writing to: *Hijas de Cuahemoc*, 6101 E. 7th, c/o EOP, Long Beach, Calif. 90801.

-MIRTA VIDAL

Detroit Panthers acquitted of murder

By MICHAEL SMITH

DETROIT—"Not guilty" was the verdict returned June 30 against 12 members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, a group associated with the Black Panther Party. The 12 had been charged with first-degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Three of the defendants, however, were convicted of a lesser offense of felonious assault, which carries a four-year maximum sentence.

The charges arose out of an incident last Oct. 24 in which the 12, after being harassed by the police for selling the *Black Panther* newspaper, fled to their headquarters, a house a few blocks away.

The police laid massive siege to the house, pinning down those inside for over six hours until a "surrender" was negotiated. At the start of the siege one of the policemen, Glenn E. Smith, a plainclothes "mod-squader," was shot through the head.

It was never proven that the fatal shot was fired from the house. Black Detroiters widely believed the case to be a frame-up, part of a nationally directed campaign to harass and victimize the Panthers. For months prior to the incident the 12 had undergone repeated abuse by the police.

The trial lasted 18 days. The prosecution called 80 witnesses, the defense called none.

The prosecution's case was dealt a severe blow when John Lee refused to testify. He was the only witness inside the house at the time of the incident. When Lee was led off to jail to serve 30 days for contempt for not testifying, defense attorneys and sympathizers hoped that the prosecution's murder and conspiracy case went with him.

However, evidence found in the house and introduced in front of the jury by means of the broad latitude afforded the prosecution under the conspiracy laws was extremely prejudicial. It included: pipe bombs, dynamite, guns, Carlos Marighela's *Minimamual on Guerrilla Warfare*, two shopping carts full of bullets, and Black Panther literature enjoining people to "off pigs."

A rally called by the Black Panther Party and a committee of the defendant's parents drew 2,000 people downtown on the last day of the trial. The jury deliberated six days before the jury foreman, a Black factory worker, softly repeated the words "not guilty" for each of the defendants.

The jury, made up of 10 Blacks and two whites, was, in the opinion of defense attorney Tom Meyer, "a jury truly reflective of the community from which the defendants came; a jury of their peers able to judge the defendants' conduct in the context of their social and political background."

It is not inaccurate to conclude that the high state of Black nationalist consciousness in Detroit is what fended off a deliberate attempt of government victimization.

In Review

Books

Lenin: Notes for a Biographer by Leon Trotsky. With and introduction by Bertram D. Wolfe. Translated from the Russian and annotated by Tamara Deutscher. G.P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1971. 224 pp. \$5.95.

Reading this book produces mixed emotions. First, the positive ones:

An addition in English to the writings of one of the great Marxists is always welcome. Trotsky wrote most of these sketches shortly after Lenin's death in 1924. He was ill then, and the first edition was probably prepared for publication too hastily. Its purpose was modest—to record reminiscences by one who had known Lenin as a collaborator abroad in 1902-1903 and in Russia from the 1917 revolution on—and it does not rank as one of Trotsky's major works.

In a volume of his collected works announced for the late 1920s, Trotsky intended to expand this book by adding other articles on Lenin; it was not published because of his expulsion from the Communist Party. He used some of its material in revised form in later books, and probably would have incorporated more in the biography of Lenin he began but never finished during his last exile.

Despite its limited aims, this book contains many sections that are valuable for the student of Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution, and some that are fascinating. Until now it was impossible for the English reader to appreciate them because the translation, made in England and published in 1925, was—there is no other word—atrocious. Reading it was like trying to watch a movie through a waterfall while you were seated next to a Good Humor ice cream truck blaring its "music." The Italians have a saying: *tradutore traditore* (the translator is a traitor), but this translator was worse than a traitor—he was an ignoramus.

So it is with gratitude we report that Tamara Deutscher has done a splendid job in retranslating this book in a style worthy of Trotsky and recognizable for the first time as by Trotsky. In addition, she has translated two



Lenin and Trotsky

of his articles written after the first Russian edition was published. One of these, Trotsky's indignant reply to Maxim Gorky's 1924 pamphlet on Lenin, would by itself justify the publication of this book.

Now, some complaints:

This is not a new book. In its first translation, it was published at least four times by four American publishers, including a paperback edition by the present publisher nine years ago. Shouldn't a publisher feel obliged to provide the potential customer with these facts? They are entirely absent from the book itself; only on the inside back flap of the cover is there a reference to "this new edition," which some readers will mistake to mean a new book. If food should be labeled properly, how about books? Maybe Ralph Nader should investigate.

Some publishers think anything goes, especially with dead writers. This publisher had so little concern for his obligations that he permitted the flap copy to be edited or written by someone who was familiar neither with the subject nor the book, short as it is. Who else could say that from 1902 "until the death of Lenin and the

exile of Trotsky shortly after, they fought side by side for the common cause of revolution?"

That's the result of indifference or carelessness. But there is a much worse indictment to be made of this publisher. And that is his selection of Bertram D. Wolfe, a professional anti-Leninist, to write the introduction to this book about Lenin by a comrade of Lenin. Wolfe's credentials in this field include having done a similar job for Stein & Day in their 1967 edition of Trotsky's *Stalin*. These publishers wouldn't dare to print a book by John Kennedy with an introduction by George Wallace or George Lincoln Rockwell. By what right do they hire Bertram D. Wolfe to write an introduction to a book by Trotsky?

Who is Wolfe?

The flap tells us he is "an American who knew Trotsky" and an "author of the acknowledged masterpiece *Three Who Made a Revolution*, a biography of Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. For four years, Mr. Wolfe served as chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff of the State Department and the Voice of America. . . . The recipient of three Guggenheim Fellowships, he is presently at the Hoover Institution for War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University."

Wolfe did know Trotsky, but mainly as a bitter antagonist. Inside the Communist Party in the 1920s, Wolfe was one of the chief jackals baying against "Trotskyism" and he kept applauding and defending the Kremlin's repression of the Left Opposition long after he was expelled from the CP himself. Thereafter he went through a number of political gyrations, but there was always one thing constant about Wolfe—his undeviating opposition to Trotsky's ideas. After his repudiation of Leninism, it was natural for the State Department and other agencies of imperialism to welcome him into their employ as an ideological advisor, that is, as a supplier of "progressive" rhetoric to cover their counterrevolutionary activity.

Publishers are supposed to be guided by different criteria than government agencies—at least, that's what the publishers say. So shouldn't the publisher of this book, instead of palming Wolfe off as an apparently objective scholar, feel obliged to advise its readers that the author of this introduction has made a career out of opposing the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky and that he has a material stake in discrediting them?

The "scholarship" level of the introduction is certainly not high. Wolfe says the French translation of the first volume of Trotsky's biography of Lenin was not published until after his assassination in 1940; actually it was published in Paris in 1936. Its "educational" quality can be illustrated by Wolfe's remark following the statement that before 1917 most Russian Marxists expected a bourgeois-democratic revolution: "I must leave it to the reader to decide whether they are flattering the bourgeoisie or belittling democracy and civil liberties by calling them bourgeois. . . ."

But of course Wolfe wasn't brought in for scholarly purposes; the major aim of his introduction is to prejudice readers against both Lenin and Trotsky before they reach Trotsky's first line. His tools are misrepresentation and distortion, of which there are too many to cite more than a few examples.

The Provisional Government

Wolfe informs us that the Russian Provisional Government in 1917 prepared "only against a restoration of czarism undreamed of by the czar, but not against a coup from the left. . . ." This doesn't square well with the historical facts: In July 1917, the Provisional Government set out to crush the growing Bolshevik Party; later the head of that government entered into a conspiracy with monarchist General Kornilov to occupy and pacify revolutionary St. Petersburg; whatever the czar did or did not dream of, the czarist reactionaries did not give up until after they had been crushed in a three-year civil war. If the Bolshevik Party wasn't crushed in July 1917, it wasn't because of a lack of willingness on the government's part; the party was driven partly underground, Lenin was forced into hiding, Trotsky was imprisoned, thousands were persecuted and victimized.

Anyhow, Trotsky reports that Lenin said early in July, before he went into hiding, "Now they will shoot us all, for them it is the best moment." Trotsky explains why it didn't happen, and adds the opinion that if the Russian military had got hold of Lenin at that time they probably would have killed him the same way their German counterparts killed Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in a similar situation in 1919.

Wolfe argues neither with Trotsky's explanation nor his opinion. Instead he tells us: "'Now they will shoot all of us,' Lenin tells Trotsky, for that is what Lenin

By Any Means Necessary

would have done under similar circumstances." That's all, and Wolfe passes immediately to another matter. No evidence, no argument—pure slander of Lenin, complementing the whitewash of the government. This is an introduction all right, but to what?

Praise for mistakes

Wolfe isn't always this crude. To cover what he is doing, he even praises Lenin and Trotsky. This is a bit tricky, but he pulls it off by praising them for—their mistakes (which they later corrected). Before 1917, Trotsky criticized Lenin's position on democratic centralism and Lenin criticized Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Wolfe puts them on the back: How eminently correct they both were before 1917; if only they hadn't changed their minds! "Had Trotsky stuck to that criticism of Lenin and Lenin to his comparable criticism of Trotsky, the Communist regime might have been less harsh. . . ." Except, of course, that there wouldn't have been any revolution or any Communist regime if Lenin and Trotsky had not corrected their errors in 1917.

After breaking with Lenin in 1903, the young Trotsky developed a sharp criticism of Lenin's organizational methods, which he contended were over-centralist and would lead inevitably to dictatorship. In 1917, Trotsky recognized that without Lenin's party-building methods the 1917 revolution would be impossible. He joined the Bolsheviks and became a tireless defender of Lenin's organizational concepts for the remaining 23 years of his life.

Lenin, on the other hand, opposed Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which Wolfe presents as "a theory of an undemocratic revolution" and "a proposal for a 'leap over democracy.'" Unfortunately (in Wolfe's opinion) Lenin changed his mind in 1917 too.

"For in that fateful year when he and Trotsky joined forces, they amnestied each other's cardinal errors. Trotsky accepted Lenin's undemocratic machine. Lenin accepted Trotsky's undemocratic revolution with its 'leap over democracy.' An undemocratic party to make an undemocratic revolution—what are these if not the very foundations of totalitarianism?"

Lenin and Trotsky, you see, are responsible for Stalinism. This is Wolfe's thesis. It might be a little more credible if he would undertake to prove that Lenin's party was undemocratic or that the revolution he led was undemocratic. Mere assertion doesn't make facts of such statements; a lie is still a lie even if uttered by someone who has spent twice four years with the State Department and the Voice of America. No revolutionary party in history was more democratic than Lenin's; that was why the Stalin bureaucracy had to crush it. No revolution in history was more democratic than the one led by Lenin in 1917; that was why the imperialists of the world tried to crush it in Lenin's time, and why their hirelings continue to defame it to this day.

One of Wolfe's lies that it is easy for readers to check out for themselves is his statement that "neither in the present work nor anywhere in his later writings" did Trotsky seek or present an explanation for the rise and victory of Stalinism. Of course he didn't do it in a book written in 1924, when Stalinism was a new and still undeveloped phenomenon, which Trotsky had only just begun to fight. Readers investigating this question can turn to the 1938 pamphlet *Stalinism and Bolshevism* and the 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed*. In opposition to both the Wolves and the Stalinists (who agree that Stalinism is the logical continuation and legitimate heir of Leninism), Trotsky contended that Stalinism is the "Thermidorian negation" of Bolshevism. Someone with scruples would have tried to refute Trotsky's position, not denied that he expressed one.

The success of Tamara Deutscher's translation, last year's first translation in English of Trotsky's important 1924 pamphlet *Problems of Civil War*, and Doubleday's coming translation of the first volume of Trotsky's biography of Lenin should alert publishers to the fact that there is a lot of rich material by Trotsky that still awaits translation and publication in this country. An outstanding example is Trotsky's three-volume work on the Russian civil war, *How the Revolution Armed Itself*, of which only around one-tenth has been translated (as *Military Writings* in 1969).

But please, Mr. Sons of Putnam or whoever has the acumen to publish such works, please spare us more introductions by the Bertram D. Wolves. If you want to flaunt your anticommunist credentials, you can do it by publishing their books or by publicly contributing part of your profits to the Fund for Broken-Down Cold-War Pensioners and Retainers. You are not compelled to do it by forcing buyers of books by Trotsky to also pay for dishonest attacks on those books.

—GEORGE BREITMAN

Alarmed by the growing racial antagonism within the U.S. Army in Europe, the NAACP sent a special three-person team to survey the situation in January of this year. The three went to West Germany, where over two-thirds of the armed services personnel in Europe are stationed. They stayed for three weeks and talked extensively to Air Force and Army personnel at 15 military bases.

Their 55-page report, mainly taking up discrimination in promotions, administration of justice, and housing, thoroughly demolishes the myth of the U.S. Armed Forces as an "equal opportunity employer."

Black GIs are not only promoted at a slower rate than white GIs, but they are "tracked" into certain job classifications through the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT). Thus, disproportionate numbers of Blacks in the Air Force are to be found in service and supply units. Very few are in electronics or communications. In other words, the training of Blacks for joblessness or menial labor—training that begins in the public schools—continues in the armed forces.

Blacks in the Army are not only relegated to service and supply, but to the infantry.

In the area of justice, the inequity becomes more glaring. Military justice is of two varieties, judicial and nonjudicial. Judicial action involves the court-martial process. Nonjudicial action is that administered on a company level, involving either an Article 15 or pretrial confinement. According to the report, Article 15 punishment may include reprimands, restriction to the base, arrest in quarters, correctional custody, extra duty, forfeiture of pay, and in some cases reduction to lower rank.

Officials in Washington told the team beforehand that Black GIs receive Article 15s at a higher rate than whites. The team subsequently found that in Berlin, where Black GIs make up 15 percent of the command, Blacks receive about 33 percent of the Article 15s. At other bases they report higher rates.

Many of the Black GIs interviewed said Article 15 punishment resulted mainly from the display of the symbols of Black awareness, such as African-American hair styles, handshakes, and "power salutes." And in many cases white officers openly provoke the brothers in order to create an excuse to impose such punishment.

Pretrial confinement in the U.S. Army amounts to the same as that in civilian life. Although half the Blacks in military jails are there "pending trial," in 1970 almost a third of all GIs released were let go because "pretrial (confinement was) not required." In other words, they were given no trial but spent time anyway.

Blacks make up 13 percent of the 165,000 persons constituting the U.S. Army in Germany. Yet, among these serving sentences in military jails, the report says, "A count made early in January 1971 showed that two out of every five prisoners (40 percent) were Black. Later that month, the Black percentage went up to 50 percent." And they are there because, while the defendants are Black, the judges, prosecution, and defense counsel are white.

Only one of 40 part-time military judges is Black; and only one of the six full-time judges is Black. Of the 123 captains from the Judge Advocate General's Staff (JAG) available for defense work, none are Black. And there are no Black civilian lawyers in Germany. So the matter comes down to sheep entering a court of wolves.

On the question of discharges, 45 percent of those GIs given an undesirable or general, which is less than honorable, are Black. This means loss of some or all government benefits accorded to veterans. Lacking adequate legal counsel, many Black GIs are pushed into accepting such discharges.

Housing is short for Germans, shorter for white GIs, and shortest for Black GIs. Many GIs bring their families over to Germany, and since the U.S. Army doesn't provide enough facilities—even for those eligible for it—they have to seek private housing. In "Berlin alone, 7,300 eligible families are currently forced to live 'on the economy' (privately) and 12,600 non-eligible families must do so as well."

Although the U.S. Army talks about ending housing discrimination, very little is being done, despite documented evidence by the victims themselves. "Black soldiers in the Heidelberg area produced affidavits from Army Housing investigators attesting to the fact that over 85 percent of the landlords listed with Family Housing offices in that area discriminated on a racial basis. The affidavits stated also that housing offices listed landlords who were known to rent to white Service personnel only."

At the end of the report, the NAACP team makes a series of recommendations. They propose reexamination of the AFQT; inviting civil rights organizations and Black law students over to provide adequate counsel for Black GIs; monitoring procedures for Article 15 cases; no pretrial confinement without specific charges being filed; Department of Defense responsibility for providing adequate housing, with sanctions against discriminating landlords.

All of these proposals are well and good, but they barely scratch the surface. No mention is made of supporting the right of Black GIs to independent organization, or their right to express themselves through newspapers or magazines they may publish. As citizen-soldiers, whose constitutional rights do not end in the Army, Black GIs have a right to these forms of expression. It is unfortunate that the NAACP, which boasts about being concerned, doesn't take up this matter.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Fascists gain in Italian elections

The following article from a Rome correspondent of Intercontinental Press is excerpted from the July 5 issue of that publication.

Elections were held in Italy June 13-14 for some city and provincial councils, as well as for the Sicilian regional assembly. Because of the political juncture and because about one-fifth of the total electorate was involved, the elections aroused considerable interest, even though the areas involved—mainly in Southern Italy—are probably out of step with much of the central part of the country and the North.

The following parties participated in the elections on a wide scale: the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiano d'Unità Proletaria—Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity, the section of Italian Social Democracy committed to the alliance with the CP], the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party, considered to be to the "left" of Social Democracy internationally, like the Swedish and Finnish parties], the PSDI [Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano—Italian Democratic Socialist party, a grouping that split from the PSI in 1969 because of the latter's "receptivity" to the Communists], the DC [Democrazia Cristiana—Christian Democracy], the PRI [Partito Repubblicano Italiano—Italian Republican party, a left liberal group similar to others in Europe that try to offer a "progressive" alternative to the traditional working-class and bourgeois parties], the PLI [Partito Liberale Italiano—Italian Liberal party, an anticlerical bourgeois-democratic party like the PRI but more closely linked to the bourgeoisie], the PDIUM [Partito Democratico Italiano d'Unità Monarchica—Italian Democratic party of Monarchist Unity, a grouping that favors the return of the king], and the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano—Italian Social Movement, the neofascists].

Of course, in order to interpret the election results correctly we need to know the economic and political context in which they occurred. So a brief explanation of the conditions at the time the vote was held is required:

As is well known, Italy has experienced a wave of economic and political struggles over the last three years that is unprecedented in the post-war period. This phase began in early 1968 with the eruption of a student movement similar in its characteristics to those in other European countries and in the United States. The radicalization continued in the fall of the same year with the opening up of workers' struggles over the renewal of national labor contracts.

In the following year, struggles developed at the industry level among the largest and most militant categories, such as the metalworkers. These contingents started up a wave of strikes and demonstrations, both in the streets and in the factories, which was marked by an extremely high level of mobilization and combativity.

Following the example of the workers, numerous petty-bourgeois groups (state employees, small tradesmen, white-collar workers in the service industries, etc.) mobilized successively in struggles demanding—in various forms—a better standard of living.

This radicalization did not culminate in a revolutionary crisis like the French May. But the breadth of these economic struggles, combined with the inadequacy of essential social services (housing, health, education, etc.), objectively raised a more general political problem. The regime itself was put in question. And the challenge contained clearly anticapitalist elements.

The unions and the left parties did everything they could, not only to prevent the ranks from taking a hand in running their own struggles, but to keep the conflict strictly nonpolitical. Despite all these efforts, embryonic forms of dual power arose spontaneously (e.g., the factory delegates).

The resentments and frustrations of the Southern Italian population exploded with particular violence. The South of Italy is still a vast, heavily populated, underdeveloped territory. Its income levels are one-third to one-fourth that of the North. Moreover, it has an extremely high rate of unemployment and a strong outflow of emigration to other areas of Italy and abroad.

In the South, more than anywhere else, there has been a spontaneous tendency to see the "system" as the enemy and to demand not "reforms" but a real radical change. For months on end, a Southern city, Reggio di Calabria, has been the scene of a virtual insurrection.

In view of the picture briefly outlined here, how should we interpret the results of the June 13 elections? First of all, we should note the changes in the percentage of votes won by the various parties, as compared with what they got in the same area in the June 1970 regional elections:

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Shift</u>
PCI	25.0	21.1	
PCI-PSIUP	--	3.2	
PSIUP	3.4	2.0	
Total	28.4	26.3	-2.1
DC	35.2	31.0	-4.2
PSI	10.3	11.0	+0.7
PSDI	6.7	7.8	+1.1
PRI	4.0	4.2	+0.2
PLI	5.7	3.5	-2.2
PDIUM	1.2	1.0	-0.2
MSI	8.2	13.9	+5.7

It is clear from this table that the fascist MSI increased its strength markedly at the expense of the other rightist groupings (the PLI and PDIUM) and the DC.

The left (the PCI and PSIUP) came out of the elections weakened, with its losses going to the smaller coalition parties.

Because of the great disparities in the economic and political situations in the North, Center, and South, it would make no sense to extrapolate such a poll to the country as a whole. Only 10% of the vote came from the North, which accounts for more than half of the country's population. Moreover, Sicily, which represents a little more than 8% of the population and which has peculiar features (which the bourgeois administration has recognized, moreover, by making the island a region "with a special status"), contributed 40.34% of the vote.

The results in Genoa give an example of the trend among the Northern voters. The PCI maintained its positions. The PSIUP vote was cut in half. The government parties improved their positions by a few points, with the PSI standing out as the biggest gainer. On the other hand, the MSI vote rose from 4.5% to 5.5%, with the increase coming exclusively at the expense of the other rightist parties, whose losses, moreover, exceeded the MSI gains.

The result in Rome was almost the same as in Genoa. The PCI increased its vote by 0.1% over last year, but the PSIUP vote dropped from 2.6% to 1.6%. The government parties gained a few points, but not the DC. The fascist vote went from 10.7% to 15.6%, with almost all the increase coming from the other rightist parties. The social composition of the electorate in the capital is predominantly petty bourgeois. As a result

the right-wing total increased by 1.4%, probably reflecting a shift of the law-and-order voters weary of the agitation in recent years and perhaps frightened by the national demonstration in Rome called by the unions shortly before the elections, in which 150,000 workers from all over Italy participated

In Rome the MSI seems to have gained votes also in the *borgate*, the belt of subproletarian slums that surrounds the city. These communities have recently been the scene of sharp struggles and confrontations with the police, chiefly over building occupations by shack-dwellers. Since there are still no breakdowns of the vote by area, this report is unconfirmed. If it turns out to be true, it would indicate that the rise of the fascist vote in Rome was partly a result of the same phenomenon occurring in the South, which will be considered further on.

which among other things, is linked to the Mafia. In a situation of social decomposition such as exists in the South, the PCI is not only not making any gains. Its vote is on the decline. It is incapable of attracting the protest vote of the poor strata.

In Bari the PCI vote dropped from 20.7% to 15.9%; the PSIUP vote from 3.1% to 2.4%. In Ascoli Piceno the PCI vote was cut from 20.4% to 14.9%. In Foggia it dropped by 2%. Throughout the South, the trend was toward a shift in the relationship of class forces.

Tired of promises of reform, of a "Southern" policy that has only increased the disparity between North and South, the subproletariat, the unemployed, the disinherited masses recognize the logic of the PCI's "participation" in the capitalist system. Because they are declassed, these masses have become disoriented. Unlike the workers in the North, they have react-



Italian fascists on University of Rome campus this year

Thus, the returns in Rome and Genoa reveal two main trends: (1) a certain weakening of the parliamentary far-left; (2) reinforcement of the far right at the expense of the other rightist parties. The second trend, of course, is not a matter of indifference. It implies that sectors of the bourgeoisie have chosen different political tactics. Correspondingly, this requires tactical shifts on the part of the workers. But the shift does not represent a substantial change in the relationship of class forces. Nor does it mean the development of mass support for a policy of open repression.

The election results in the South, on the other hand, indicate that the extreme right has the ability to win a mass base through demagogic denunciations of the system, defying the laws, and openly attacking the regime. It is precisely the returns in Sicily and the other areas in the South that are most disturbing because (after the events in Reggio Calabria) they confirm the possibility of the fascists winning a mass base in the South, in the subproletariat, and among the most poverty-stricken masses.

In Sicily the combined vote of the PCI and the PSIUP dropped 1.3%. But this time the PSIUP was not the only loser. In the districts where the PCI ran alone, it also lost votes. The government parties other than the DC scored no gains. Altogether the coalition parties' vote increased by only 0.1%. The MSI vote rose from 7.2% to 16.4%, an increase of 9.2%, while the other rightist parties (PLI and PDIUM) lost only 1.9%. The fascists thus garnered a protest vote of 7% against the center-left government,

ed to the pressures of the social crisis by becoming the pawns of demagogic and reactionary maneuvers.

Of course, the changes that have occurred in the Italian social and economic structure in the postwar period have markedly reduced the specific weight of the Southern masses (as well as the absolute number of people in the South). Thus, it cannot be supposed that this phenomenon will upset the balance of forces on a national scale. But although there is an army of socialist-oriented workers and although the fascists are blocked in the Northern cities, this cannot overshadow the gravity of the fact that for the first time, if only in part of the country, the fascists have ceased to be an association of "old comrades" and become a mass party.

The major responsibility for this state of affairs falls obviously on the parties of the reformist left, which have been incapable of rallying and leading the protest of a large part of the poor population against the capitalist system. In fact, these parties have become the defenders of this system, with some of them joining the bourgeois government and others wanting to. (The PCI has gone to the point of publishing a manifesto claiming that it is the party of "real law and order.")

But the so-called extraparliamentary extreme-left bears no small part of the responsibility as well. It is still incapable of offering an alternative rallying point to the left. It is still fragmented into a myriad of sects and splinter groups, sometimes on the basis of principled differences, but sometimes also merely because of petty-bourgeois ultraleftism.

The National Picket Line

The United States Post Office Department formally and officially became the U.S. Postal Service on July 1, 1971. Thus the first major department of government became a federally financed and privately managed, quasi-independent, \$10-billion public utility.

For the next 13 years, by special law, it will continue to receive full financial backing from the federal government but will be run by a highly paid staff of private plunderers.

The management boasts of its present sound financial position. James W. Hargrove, assistant postmaster general for finance and administration, told a New York Times correspondent June 29, "No utility in this country is in as good shape as we are as we begin this enterprise."

Hargrove was reported to have said that the new Postal Service begins life with over \$2-billion in assets such as building and equipment, and that it has cash of between \$750-million and \$1-billion for investment purposes.

The Postal Service is authorized by an act of Congress to sell \$10-billion worth of postal revenue bonds, no more than \$2-billion in any one year.

It is not reported how much interest these postal revenue bonds will pay, but the banks that buy such bonds expect to collect about 6 percent interest on their investments these days. This means that \$120-million will be paid back to the bankers in interest on the first \$2-billion bond sale the first year. This goes on year after year.

According to the present rules, the Postal Service can use \$500-million a year from the bond sales for operating expenses and the other \$1.5-billion goes for capital expenditures.

By the time \$10-billion of postal revenue bonds have been sold, the full \$500-million per year for operating expenses won't even be enough to cover the interest payment on the bonds.

For anyone who is curious about the alchemy of the old public utility shake-down, the new Postal Service is a test-tube case to watch. Here will be seen how pure gold is produced by the ancient art of combining federal financing with quasi-independent operation. Add interest bearing bonds to bring out the richness of the mixture.

It can be reasonably predicted that within five years—the briefest time allotted for the sale of the \$10-billion of postal revenue bonds—the Postal Service will be complaining of "financial difficulty," if not bankruptcy.

Assistant Postmaster General Hargrove says of Postal Service at the outset, "we are anything but a Penn Central or a Lockheed," the two notorious current bankrupts.

The Postal Service does not expect to follow in their footsteps to the beggars' bench at future congressional hearings: It has a built-in provision for continued government subsidies over the next 13 years. In addition, it is authorized to raise postal rates again and again—as it did even before taking control just as a gesture of independence and future intentions—in case operating expenses warrant it.

As a demonstration of "good business management," the new Postal Service has announced that it is purchasing labor-saving equipment, hopes to cut back on the work force, and will hold down wages. These are all the standard devices of private corporations and public utilities alike: reduce costs, raise prices and increase the profits of investors.

Meanwhile, the word is out that the new U.S. Postal Service is in a position to pay well for a few services, further enriching those big corporations that had the foresight to plant some of their own able men in the new management of this public utility.

Westinghouse Electric Corporation, for example, has been awarded a contract of \$3.5-million to study "pay systems" of 700,000 postal employees. Competitors say the job should cost no more than \$1-million. The Westinghouse "inside man" is Assistant Postmaster General for Research and Engineering Harold

Faught, who had nothing to do with awarding the consulting contract to Westinghouse, according to an unidentified representative of Postal Service.

It is widely known, without benefit of Westinghouse "consultation," that 700,000 postal employees have a very poor pay system. And it is reported that many of them, through their postal workers unions, are making their own study of this. If they find out how the system works, they will surely expose this biggest of all mail robberies, roll back the price of postage stamps, demand an end to the layoffs, and begin to fight for workers' control of the Postal Service.

About 20,000 Western Union workers walked out June 1 because the company was eliminating their jobs and refusing to pay living wages. As the strike continues, Western Union officials brag that by provoking the strike they have spurred the process of automation and reorganization. The strike speeds up use of the Mailgram, which turns over delivery of Western Union messages to U.S. letter carriers. The letter carriers receive no extra pay, get no additional help. They take over for free the work of former Western Union employees, now on strike.

The issue of jobs is likewise involved in the strike of 15,000 West Coast longshoremen, whose contract expired June 30. The Pacific Maritime Association has reorganized and "rationalized" the handling of cargo during the past decade, and the work force has been drastically reduced. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, foreseeing this development, attempted to adjust to the "age of automation," negotiated for pensions and early retirement. This has not been enough to protect the living standard of waterfront workers, and the union is now demanding higher guaranteed annual wages.

All 24 West Coast ports from Seattle to San Diego were closed by the ILWU on July 1, after 23 years of "waterfront peace."

Longshoremen on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, represented by the International Longshoremen's Association (AFL-CIO), are watching closely what happens on the Pacific. They face the same problems and are poorly equipped to deal with them when their contracts expire on Sept. 30. There is talk of a nationwide longshoremen's strike of 120,000 in the fall if no pattern of wages and employment for the industry is established by the West Coast strike.

The "Big Four" of the copper trust—American Smelting and Refining, Kennecott Copper, Anaconda, and Phelps Dodge—are holding out against the United Steelworkers of America for more control over the workers. The contract expired June 30, and 35,000 miners in 11 western states walked out. The biggest operations are in Utah, Arizona, Montana, New Mexico and Nevada.

The copper kings say they expect to increase productivity and operating efficiency. That means lower safety standards, more speedup and fewer workers. Copper companies do not like the idea of a cost-of-living "escalator" clause, preferring fixed wages, which now average less than \$4 per hour in the copper mines.

The Communication Workers of America have set a July 14 strike deadline for the American Telephone & Telegraph Company's nationwide Bell System. Here also one of the big questions is automation, i.e. loss of jobs. This is combined with the need for higher wages. A strike of telephone workers could involve as many as half a million.

Without knowing it, Nixon may have provoked the unions to fight harder against the systematic layoffs in industry when he vetoed the \$5.6-billion accelerated public-works bill on June 30.

—FRANK LOVELL

...abortion

Continued from page 9

the national abortion campaign would be a mistake. Should we exclude from this abortion campaign all women who still have prejudices against homosexuals, or who are simply not concerned enough with the issue of gay rights to want to join a campaign around this issue? Certainly all women who are really in favor of an abortion campaign would agree that we want all women to join this campaign who are willing to struggle for abortion law repeal and no forced sterilization.

Gay women, many of whom have been among the staunchest supporters of the women's liberation movement, have recognized the importance of the abortion struggle. The struggle of gay women and all gay people can only be aided by drawing masses of women—even those still prejudiced against gay people—into militant struggle on the single issue of abortion law repeal. If these women are urged to join the abortion campaign on a basis they can agree with, they can in the course of struggle side by side with lesbian sisters become convinced on the justice of gay liberation demands. In addition, many gay women who have not yet joined the gay liberation movement may become active in the abortion campaign, and through it become involved in the gay movement.

Of course, in the actions and demonstrations organized by the national abortion coalition, gay women's groups, as well as all other groups and individuals, should be free to distribute whatever literature and carry whatever signs they wish to put forth their particular viewpoint on abortion and other issues.

Whether or not to add more issues as the basis

of a united action campaign is related to the question of what a coalition is. The whole point of a coalition is to enable a broad spectrum of the movement to combine forces into a united front for action against our oppressors on a specific issue. Since the women's movement is so heterogeneous at the present time, the most powerful coalition and action can be built around a single issue.

The fact that women have gotten together on an issue does not mean that that issue is the only important aspect of the oppression of women. The question before serious and conscious feminists is how to develop a momentum of struggle that can relate to the political climate and discussions going on in the country and draw millions of women into battle against the government and institutions that oppress us. We must start somewhere. We must see where our oppressors are weak and direct our fire there, in a resolute struggle to win. A coalition makes it possible to carry out such a campaign in the most powerful way, because it can unite women who do not necessarily agree about other campaigns which will be taking place simultaneously.

An action coalition around abortion is not the only kind of organization that is needed. All kinds of groups are necessary—campus groups, gay women's groups, consciousness-raising groups, trade-union women's caucuses, Chicana and Black women's groups, etc. The coalition is simply the best way to unite in action women from all these different groups and political viewpoints.

Women of all different viewpoints and backgrounds can only be aided in their own particular work by a united struggle of women against their oppression on any one issue. The effect of adding numerous demands as the basis of a coalition is simply to narrow it by giving many conservative women or verbal "revolutionaries" an excuse not to

join the struggle. Through a campaign for a single-issue action we can expose those sections of the movement who will not support this concrete action in the interests of women and at the same time draw together women from all groups who are willing to struggle.

The WISE grouping also raises the question of how a coalition should function. They disagree with the practice of making major decisions through open, democratic meetings with one woman-one vote. And they also say in a leaflet outlining their views that the vote to exclude the demand for freedom of sexual expression at the June 12 meeting was "obtained by a majority not representative of our women's liberation movement"—although they never explain whose women's liberation movement they are talking about.

Open, democratic, non-exclusive decision-making meetings are the best way to involve all the main activists in any campaign, as well as to ensure that all political viewpoints are represented. A policy of one vote per organization would not allow for representation of women who are actively involved but not affiliated with any particular group, nor would it allow proper representation for activists from organizations which are the most involved in building the campaign.

Over-representation for any one political viewpoint can best be prevented by widely publicizing the decision-making meetings so that all activists can take part.

No one tendency or grouping can claim to "own" the women's movement. The only way for the movement to grow and develop a perspective is if it is based upon democracy, inclusion of all women willing to struggle, and free debate and confrontation of ideas. The important thing is that this debate and discussion lead to a struggle against women's oppression. We must get the movement into the streets and win victories.

Calendar

AMHERST, MASS.

COMMUNITY RADIO WORKSHOP. A radical analysis of current issues. Every Friday night from 7:30-8:30 p.m. on WFCR-FM, 88.5. WFCR can be heard in nearly all of western New England and eastern New York State. Also on WMUA-FM, 91.1, on Tuesdays from 6:30-7:30 p.m.

BOSTON

VOICES OF DISSENT. Wednesdays, 8-9 p.m. on WTBS-FM, 88.1. Thursdays, 8-9 p.m. on WRBB-FM, 91.7. Wed., July 15 and Thurs., July 16: The Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN '71 meets every Thursday at 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. You are invited!

CHICAGO

MILITANT LABOR FORUM. A weekly forum on topics of revolutionary interest, including the women's liberation, antiwar, labor and socialist movements. Fridays, 8 p.m. at 180 N. Wacker Drive, Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Call 641-9408 for further details.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS OPENING CELEBRATION. Sat., July 24. Guest speaker: Clifton DeBerry, 1970 SWP candidate for governor of New York. Refreshments served at 6:30 p.m., dinner served at 7 p.m. and program begins at 8:30 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$4, students \$3.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE NEW YORK CITY BUDGET DISASTER. Speaker: Howard Reed, who has contributed articles on trade unions and New York City politics to *The Militant*. Fri., July 16, 8 p.m. at 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Dinner served at 6 p.m. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Socialist summer school

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST ELECTION POLICY. Mass independent working class parties, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. **THE NEW FEMINIST MOVEMENT.** Women in pre-class and early class society, Mon., July 19, 8 p.m. at 1176 1/2 West Peachtree. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 876-2330.

AUSTIN

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Regular classes Tuesdays and Fridays at 8 p.m., U of Texas Student Union. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call M. Hernandez, 476-9030; or M. Lunn, 474-4275.

BAY AREA (CALIF.)

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, Thurs., July 15, 8 p.m. San Francisco State College, Education building, room 117. For more information, call 626-9958 (San Francisco) or 654-9728 (Berkeley). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

BOSTON

FRANCE IN REVOLUTION. Series on French history from the 1789 revolution to the present. The Resistance and the French Communist Party, Sun., July 18, 7 p.m. at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307. La Raza Unida Party and the Chicano movement, Wed., July

14, 7:30 p.m. at Boston University School of Public Communication, Room 206. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 536-6981.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

SERIES OF CLASSES. Socialist electoral politics, every Tuesday, 7 p.m. July 13-Aug. 3 at 1015 Washington Ave., Apt. 6. History and organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party, every Sunday, June 13-Aug. 1, call 596-2849 for exact time. Strategies and tactics for the 70s, every Tuesday, 7 p.m., June 15-Aug. 3. Permanent revolution, every Wednesday, 7 p.m., July 14-Aug. 4. At 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby). Ausp. SWP-YSA.

CHICAGO

HOW TO MAKE A REVOLUTION IN THE U.S. A series of classes. History of the Socialist Workers Party—Post-World War II upsurge and the McCarthyite witch-hunt, Tues., July 13, 7:30 p.m. The Doldrums of the fifties—the Cochran-Pablo fight and regroupment, Fri., July 16, 7:30 p.m. 180 North Wacker Drive, Room 310. For more information, call 641-0147. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

CLEVELAND

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. A series of classes. The Cochran fight, Mon., July 19 and Wed., July 21, 8 p.m. Debs Hall Forum, 4420 Superior. Phone 391-5553 for more information. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

DENVER

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Imperialism and World War II, Thurs., July 15, 8 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA. Contact Rocky Mountain Socialist Summer School, 607 E. 13th Ave. Phone 623-9505.

DETROIT

HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. The Cochran Fight, Tues., July 13 and Wed., July 14, 7:30 p.m. at Wayne State U. For further information, call Detroit Socialist Summer School, 831-6135. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Organizing the vanguard party and Marxism and the struggle for women's liberation, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. Foundations of scientific socialism, Sun., July 18, 8 p.m. U of Houston University Center. For more information, call 741-2577. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Dynamics of the current radicalization in the U.S. Thurs., July 15, 8 p.m. The national question, Sun., July 18, 4 p.m. The Transitional Program for Black Liberation, Sun., July 18, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. For more information, call 463-1917 or 463-1966.

MADISON, WIS.

MARXIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Disintegration of the Russian Revolution, Sat., July 17, 1:30 p.m. at Che Guevara Movement Center, 202 W. Gilman St. For more information, call 256-0857.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 3. Nationalism, feminism and the campuses in revolt, Sat., Sun., and Mon., July 24-26. For more details, call 332-7781. At 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Second floor. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

TOWARDS AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. Series 1—Entry of the Socialist Workers Party into the Socialist Party, Sun., July 18, 6:30 p.m. Series 2—The antiwar movement today, Tues., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Series 3—Third Capitalist parties, Peace and Freedom politics and the United Socialist ticket of 1958, Thurs., July 15, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. SWP-YSA So-

cialist Summer School, 706 Broadway (4th St.) Eighth floor. For more information, call 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER MANHATTAN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Socialist Workers Party, Sun., July 11, 2 p.m. and Tues., July 13, 7 p.m. The new radicalization: Feminism and nationalism, Wed., July 14, 7 p.m. Socialist electoral policy, Thurs., July 15, 7 p.m. 2744 Broadway (106th St.) Second floor. Phone 663-3000 for details.

PHILADELPHIA

THE COMBINED CHARACTER OF THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Wed., July 14, 7:30 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). For more information, call WA5-4316. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

PORLAND

THREE EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The Revolutionary party, Mondays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 2. Marxism and the struggle for national liberation, Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 4. Marxist economic theory, Thursdays at 7:30 p.m. through Aug. 5. Portland State University, Room 323SMC. For more information, call 288-1063. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

SAN DIEGO

SUMMER EDUCATIONAL SERIES. The Russian revolution, Mon., July 12, 7:30 p.m. Stalinism, Thurs., July 15, 7:30 p.m. History of the Trotskyist movement, Mon., July 19, 7:30 p.m. San Diego State College New Library, Room 307. Ausp. SWP-YSA. For more information, call 286-9885.

SEATTLE

THREE SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES. Revolutionary socialism in action—the campus orientation, Sat., July 17, 11 a.m. Basic dilemma of capitalism, Wed., July 14, 8 p.m. History of the American left—sectarians and economists, Thurs., July 15, 8 p.m. U of Washington HUB. For more information, call 523-2555. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUMMER SCHOOL SERIES. Black nationalism, Fri., July 16 at 8 p.m. and Sat., July 17 at 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. The Chinese revolution, every Monday at 8 p.m. through July 19. 2000 P St. N.W., Room 413. For more information, call 833-9560. Ausp. SWP-YSA.

court

Continued from page 5

uing its investigation and will prosecute all those who have violated federal criminal laws in connection with this matter. As further developments occur, relative to Justice Department action, they will be announced at the proper time."

For their part, senior editors of the *Times* and the *Post* have publicly indicated that they are prepared to go to jail for having published the documents, if it should come to that.

Still, the *Times* has made clear that it is by no means seeking the "absolute right to publish anything under all circumstances." In a July 1 editorial, it said that it was only seeking the right to "publish these particular documents at this particular time without

prior governmental restraint."

Whatever Nixon decides to do, the basic causes for the deep division in the American ruling class remain. A decision to prosecute, moreover, could only exacerbate this division.

The division is over whether the United States can best defend the long-range interests of imperialism by getting out of Vietnam or by dragging out the war indefinitely in hopes of wringing greater concessions out of the Vietnamese. The Nixon administration favors the latter course, and does not intend to get out of Vietnam. The liberal wing of the ruling class, for which the *New York Times* speaks, chose to reveal the secret Pentagon documents in an effort to compel the Nixon wing to change its course. This division, which can be expected to widen in the days ahead, provides an excellent opportunity for antiwar forces to mobilize even greater opposition to the aims of U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

Following the Supreme Court decision, the *Times* published the remaining six installments in its series of nine. The central points made in these installments were the following:

● The Kennedy administration in 1961 approved covert warfare against North Vietnam and approved the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963: "Our complicity in his overthrow heightened our responsibilities and our commitment" in Vietnam, the study states.

● The air war against North Vietnam was widened in 1965-1966 despite intelligence reports that such raids would not succeed in forcing it to cease to resist.

● Following the Tet offensive in February 1968, military officials sought to compel President Johnson to undertake an all-out national mobilization in an effort to militarily defeat the national liberation forces. This set off a policy clash inside the government that was resolved in favor of a policy of "deescalation."

● Contrary to the claims of each successive U.S. administration, responsibility for the sabotage of the 1954 Geneva accords lay with the United States, not with North Vietnam. According to the *Times* account, the Pentagon study "describes in detail how the Eisenhower administration sent a team of agents to carry out clandestine warfare against North Vietnam from the minute the Geneva conference closed."

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Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

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Pittsfield: YSA, c/o R.G. Pucko, 77 Euclid Ave., Pittsfield, Mass. 01201.

Worcester: YSA, Box 1470, Clark U, Worcester, Mass. 01610. Socialist Workers Campaign '71, P.O. Box 97, Webster Sq. Sta., Worcester, Mass. 01603.

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THE MILITANT

Chicago judge impounds indictment

By STEVE CLARK

CHICAGO—The Cook County special grand jury, empaneled last winter to investigate the murders of Illinois Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, completed its proceedings June 30. On June 24, the 23-member panel handed down an indictment, which Chief Criminal Court Judge Joseph A. Powers immediately impounded pending an Aug. 5 hearing by him on a petition to dismiss the grand jury proceedings.

Ever since April 22, when rumors of an indictment of state officials swept the criminal court building, all stops have been pulled by Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine in efforts to obstruct the grand jury proceedings. Judge Powers, a former law partner of Daley, charged special prosecutor Barnabas Sears with contempt of court for not calling more witnesses to present the state's case. Later on, lawyers representing 13 policemen and three staff assistants of State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan filed a petition requesting dismissal of the grand jury and quashing of any indictments, on the grounds of

improper exhortation of grand jurors by Sears and prejudicial publicity. All of the plaintiffs were involved in the Dec. 4, 1969, raid on the apartment in which Hampton was killed.

The contempt citation would have put the grand jury proceedings in jeopardy, so Sears appealed it to the state supreme court.

On June 23 the Illinois Supreme Court overturned the contempt ruling. The higher court's decision, however, indicated that Judge Powers retained the discretionary right to quash any indictment and dismiss the panel if in his judgment the results of the grand jury proceedings would culminate in a miscarriage of justice. The court also ordered that transcripts of the grand jury sessions be turned over to Powers for his investigation and that he be allowed to meet in private with the panel as a whole, although not with individual members of the panel as he had planned.

As an indication that the petition submitted by members of Hanrahan's office is the sole subject occupying his mind, Powers stated to the June 30 court session, according to the July 1

Chicago Sun-Times, that "The only issue pending is whether the court may conclude that this grand jury was improperly influenced."

Mayor Daley's powerful Democratic Party organization stands 100 percent behind the petition. And Judge Powers' prior acrobatics in attempting to obscure the issues and scuttle the investigation clearly indicate where his sympathies lie.

Nonetheless, the murders of Hampton and Clark created a massive and angry response within the Black community, on the campuses, and even among prominent liberals and civil libertarians. The facts of the incident directly contradict the stories of the police and Hanrahan's office. The front-page publicity the current inquiry has received in the Chicago press has further served to arouse public sentiment against the city and county officials involved in the raid and in the investigation.

Given his options—an indictment or what in the public eye would be further fishy maneuvering—Judge Powers will no doubt do a lot of sweating over the next couple of weeks.



Fred Hampton was killed by Chicago cops, as was Mark Clark, Dec. 4, 1969. Indictment from investigation of their deaths has been impounded.

Postal workers vote for July 15 strike

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK—The Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union and Branch 36 of the National Association of Letter Carriers voted overwhelmingly July 1 to strike if no satisfactory agreement is reached on job security and money by July 15. Negotiations with the Postal Service have been broken off, making a settlement by that date highly unlikely. The internationals of these unions have not authorized strikes.

The strike vote in the M-BPU was estimated by a union official to be 11-to-one in favor of a strike. But the ballots of Branch 36 were impounded under a federal court order—at the instigation of international President James Rademacher—and no count has been released.

A June 30 strike rally held by the two unions drew over 6,000 members to Manhattan Center. The sentiment was overwhelmingly for a strike. Chants of "strike, strike, strike" frequently interrupted the rally. The rally was addressed by M-BPU President Moe Biller; Branch 36 President Vincent Sombrotto; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and others.

The M-BPU and Branch 36 have a combined membership of almost 40,000, a large number of whom are women, Black and Puerto Rican, and young.

Branch 36 was the local that initiated the unprecedented nationwide post-

al strike in March 1970. After the strike ended, the local leadership was replaced by the present leaders, elected on a platform of more rank-and-file control, the development of area-wide bargaining, and the attainment of the demands the union went on strike for last year and did not win. The local is now fighting an attempt by the international to put it into trusteeship. (Under trusteeship, the elected local leadership is deposed and another leadership is appointed by the international.)

If no settlement is reached on a new contract by July 15, the dispute is supposed to go to binding arbitration. But according to Tom Germano, vice-president of Branch 36, the local "will

strike rather than go into binding arbitration." In an interview with *The Militant*, Germano said that "Strike votes have been taken in many postal unions in the New York area in all crafts, and all but one have been for a strike. We also have been able to coordinate nationally with postal unions in other large metropolitan areas. If there is a strike, it will be nationwide."

According to Germano, their main demands are for "job security, a living wage, and local autonomy with area-wide bargaining." The latter demand is directed against uniform pay scales throughout the country, which do not reflect regional differences in the cost of living.

Davis defense petitions federal court

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN RAFAEL, Calif.—Defense counsel for Angela Davis announced in court July 6 that they are petitioning to remove her case from the state court of California to the federal courts. The petition charges that the state has demonstrated prejudice against Davis and has conspired to deprive her of her constitutional rights. The defense is asking the federal courts to hear the case in order to show cause why all charges should not be dismissed due to lack of evidence.

The removal petition asserts that the major purpose of the state's case "is to drive the petitioner [Angela Davis], because of her race, or color, or political affiliation, from the classrooms of the university system of the state of California, and to silence her, under color and authority of the law by any means necessary, as an informed

and effective advocate of the human and civil rights of prison inmates."

Howard Moore Jr., chief counsel for the Davis defense, explained to the press that the present motion was worked out last week in consultation with codefendant Ruchell Magee. Magee's own petition for a federal hearing, which has been pending since January, was denied in the U.S. district court June 16 on grounds that it was "legally frivolous." But according to Magee, this denial of a hearing is unconstitutional, and until it is granted, all proceedings in the state courts are illegal.

After Davis' petition was served on the court, Magee quipped, "Now we have two petitions. They already ignored mine, but see if they can ignore this one." Judge Richard Arnason then offered the floor to the state prosecutor, Albert Harris, with the admoni-

tion that Magee's remarks were taking too much time from "court business." Magee protested by remarking, "Mr. Harris is participating in a case involving my life—I have a right to speak."

When Arnason continued to chide Magee on his "interruption of court business," Magee responded, "You haven't interrupted me, your Honor, but you have completely disregarded me . . . and [referring to his removal petition] disregarded the fact that you have no jurisdiction over this case."

Davis' decision to wage her defense together with Magee in the federal courts contradicts allegations by the bourgeois press of an impending split between the two defendants. Last week, Davis told the courtroom that despite the favorable emergence of a mass defense movement on the outside, "The possibility of a fair trial is being erod-

ed each day, each time that Mr. Magee's rights are trampled on . . . because Mr. Magee and I have been bound together, each time his rights are negated and denied, my rights are negated and denied."

The trial proceedings at the Marin County courthouse have been recessed until the U.S. district court accepts or rejects Davis' petition for removal.

In the meantime, the National United Committee to Free Angela Davis is issuing a new petition demanding bail for Davis. The petition drive is planned to climax with a massive national demonstration at the end of this summer. The exact date and character of the action are to be worked out in consultation with defense committees around the country. A July 4 demonstration slated for Sacramento never got off the ground.